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Contents for April 1945

The League's Business	162
EDITORIAL COMMENT	163
New Constitution for Missouri	165
MARCH TOWARD HOME RULENathaniel L. Goldstein	168
CITIZEN EDUCATION IN BRITAIN	172
EARLY PLANNING PATTERN FOUND	176
News in Review	
CITY, STATE AND NATION	179
Researcher's Digest	184
CITIZEN ACTION	188
TAXATION AND FINANCE	194
COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP	198
LOCAL AFFAIRS ABROAD	200
Proportional RepresentationGeorge H. Hallett, Jr.	205
Rooks in Review	207

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the Engineering Index Service, the Index to Legal Periodicals, the International Index to Periodicals and in Public Affairs Information Service.

⁻ Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps -

The League's Business

Guide for Charter Commissions

The League has formed a Committee on a Guide for Charter Commissions to meet a widely encountered need for a simple pattern of procedure for local charter commissions. The committee is tentatively planning to point up the major issues which should be resolved by a commission, the basic needs of a sound charter, pitfalls to be avoided and principles to follow in charter drafting.

Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's Council, will serve as chairman of the committee. The other members are: William Anderson, chairman of the Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota; E. A. Cottrell, chairman of the School of Social Sciences, Stamford University; John N. Edy, city manager of Houston, Texas; Herbert Emmerich, associate director of the Public Administration Clearing House; Arnold Frye, attorney, chairman of the Subcommittee on Style and Draft, Model City Charter Committee; John B. Gage, mayor of Kansas City, Missouri; C. A. Harrell, city manager of Schenectady, New York; Herman Kehrli, director of the Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, University of Oregon; George R. Sidwell, staff attorney and charter consultant of the Michigan Municipal League; and Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary of the National Municipal League.

California Reclaims Dykstra

C. A. Dykstra, president of the League from 1937 to 1940, has resigned as president of the University of Wisconsin to become provost of the University of California at Los Angeles. Mr. Dykstra, who went to the University of Wisconsin after achieving wide fame as city manager of Cincinnati, has a long record as an educator and public administrator. He was formerly director of personnel and efficiency of the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, professor of municipal administration at the University of California, director of Selective Service, and chairman of the National Defense Mediation Board.

Death of Alfred Bettman

Alfred Bettman, chairman of the Cincinnati Planning Commission, and for many years active in municipal affairs and closely associated with the League, died January 21 at Altoona, Pennsylvania, while enroute to his home after attending a conference on planning in New York. At the time of his death Mr. Bettman was also chairman of the American Bar Association's Committee on City Planning and Zoning and vice chairman of the Regional Planning Commission of Hamilton County, Ohio. He had served the League as a member of the Council and was a member of its Committee on Revision of the Model City Charter.

Two New Publications

Postwar Planning for Metropolitan Utilities, a series of articles by Dr. John Bauer appearing in the Review, is now available in pamphlet form. The study, based on a nation-wide survey, analyzes the steady march of public utilities toward organization and operation on a metropolitan basis, forecasts peacetime needs and problems and suggests patterns for future utility districts.

A completely revised edition of the League's pamphlet on *The County Manager Plan* relates the success stories of the eleven counties now operating under the manager plan and describes the headless, loose-jointed, ramshackle, inefficient organization of the great majority of the counties. An appendix details the progress in overcoming constitutional, statutory and judicial barriers to county reorganization since 1910.

Alfred Willoughby, Executive Secretary

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Those State Surpluses

THE states are sitting very smugly on their surpluses these days, nobly resisting the "natural" temptation to indulge in spending sprees with the "extra" funds which grew not from economical management but from improved tax collections and lower costs of relief, fewer capital expenditures and other war-born reasons.

The self-satisfaction with which state administrations are pointing with pride to their accumulated funds is something less than becoming, especially in view of the fact that, at least inferentially, it is implied that the cities, less fortunately situated in this respect, are delinquent in management.

State legislatures and state administrations are largely to blame for the plight of the cities, much more so than the cities themselves—even those which have been notoriously badly managed. The chief "crimes" for which the states stand indicted are:

1. Failure to grant large cities fair representation in the legislatures;

2. Coupling grants in aid with mandatory expenditures on the part of cities which increase rather than decrease the municipal financial burden;

3. Gobbling up every new source of tax revenue and virtually limiting municipalities to the tax on real estate.

Even at a time when our armies have spread throughout the world to

fight for the preservation of democracy, rural-minded legislatures continue cold-bloodedly and cynically to keep their cities hog-tied with underrepresentation, hanging on desperately to the undemocratic rural advantage of two generations ago.

Mayor Curtiss E. Frank of Yonkers tossed the "state aid" challenge vigorously into his state's lap when, appearing recently before the fiscal committee of the New York legislature, he said: "There is not a single form of state aid, as distinct from shared taxes, received by the city of Yonkers which does not depend upon the expenditure by the city of at least an equal amount from its own sources of revenue."

Thus the good intentions of the states become financial strait-jackets and, by tying restrictions and rules to the administration of the aid, conspire to destroy the local autonomy and sense of responsibility which our communities should have.

There appears to be a rising tide of protest against the way cities are being treated. The authoritative report to the Secretary of the Treasury on federal, state and local fiscal relations¹ boldly stated that much of the blame for the cities' difficulties can be placed on the states. There is increasing demand for the sharing of state revenues with cities in place of

¹Federal, State and Local Government Fiscal Relations—a Report Submitted to the Secretary of the Treasury by a Special Committee.

state aid. A basic principle was expressed in a statement by the Municipal Finance Officers Association, which said: "Where the state shares a tax with the municipality it should be shared because the locality has a right to a share of the tax and it should not be given merely as a dole or a privilege. Stimulating grants for narrow activities tend to distort the service structures of the local governments."

The Mayor of Yonkers demanded a share of the state surplus for cities. He said: "With the state treasury bulging with accumulative surpluses which presently will exceed \$300,-000,000 it is entirely logical that the cities and other local governments in financial distress through no present fault of theirs should share to a greater extent in these excess tax collections by the state government. It would be far better for the state to give temporary assistance now out

of its abundance of revenue than to throw open new fields of taxation with the consequent effect which this might have on business within cities."

The Mayor might have added that the majority of the people who are paying more money than is actually needed now to the state are the very ones who are paying other and needed taxes to the municipalities in which they live. He might have asked, "Just whose money is this, anyway?"

The question of whether states should redistribute some of their surpluses to enable local governments to put their houses in order for whatever will come after the war merits study. In any event, their comfortable financial condition should encourage the states to consider the whole problem of municipal-state relationships much more realistically and honestly than they have done in the past.

Missouri Steps Ahead

THE people of Missouri have adopted a revised constitution which, while farther from perfection than it might be, makes notable progress in several basic fields, especially in provisions for home rule for cities and counties.

Voters showed a commendable degree of discrimination after a campaign in which many of the false claims and questionable methods which defeated New Jersey's proposed constitution last November were employed.¹

Some of the delegates to the con-

which is all too rare. It is a pity others were unable to rise above petty temptations to insert some regressive, undemocratic provisions in the document. Despite this, however, impressive gains were made.

The National Municipal League is

stitutional convention provided high-

minded, statesmanlike leadership

The National Municipal League is gratified that its National Conference on Government of 1941 in St. Louis played some small part in this progress. The League brought a group of authorities on constitutional problems to the conference, the final day of which also witnessed the launching of their campaign organization by Missourians.

¹See "New Constitution for Missouri," by Tess Loeb, p. 165 this issue.

New Constitution for Missouri

Coordinated court system, city and county home rule, state administrative and legislative streamlining, registration of voters over entire state among its progressive features.

By TESS LOEB*

In spite of bitter opposition, icy weather and the customary apathy, Missouri voters adopted a new state constitution by nearly two to one at a special election on February 27th. The constitution of 1875 was replaced by a new and greatly improved charter, the first constitution of any state in 36 years to be revised completely. The campaign was watched with envious interest by numerous other states including nearby Illinois, and the "Show Me" slogan has now become "Show How."

The people of Missouri demonstrated the power of democracy to revitalize itself by adopting a new instrument for self-government in the midst of the war and despite a campaign of misrepresentation unparalleled in the state's recent history.

Chief opponents of the new code were small loan interests whose monopoly in this lending field would be broken by the constitution's approval, and state and local politicians who feared the loss of patronage and jobs. They employed many of the methods used in defeating New Jersey's constitution, although their timing was not so effective. More

than a million leaflets containing gross misrepresentations designed to appeal to the illiterate, the prejudiced and selfish voters were sent out, but most of them were circulated far enough in advance for proponents to counteract their effect by presenting the facts.

A great blunder was made by the opposition just a few days before the election in circulating a statement that the new constitution would place added taxes on war bonds. U. S. Treasury officials demanded that this charge be retracted publicly and obtained the admission that it was false. Other groups called attention to the falsification and made similar demands for retraction of other misstatements concerning taxes, education and social security and unemployment compensation funds.

The new constitution had the vigorous support of the metropolitan press, and the large cities gave overwhelming majorities to it. Rural newspapers for the most part supported it also and the favorable vote from the country districts was higher than anticipated. Each of the three leaders of the opposition lost his own county. There was much mystery surrounding the opposition and the source of the campaign funds which were estimated at over \$100,-000. The small-loan interests, however, were thought to have contributed most of the sum.

^{*}During the sessions of the recent Missouri Constitutional Convention Mrs. Loeb served as a special writer for the St. Louis Star-Times. She has long been active in the League of Women Voters and was a member of the National Municipal League's council and of its Committee on the Revision of the Model City Charter.

One of the chief assets of the proponents of the new constitution was its support by organizations and community leaders. Governor Phil M. Donnelly served as honorary chairman of the Missouri Committee for the New Constitution. It was endorsed by Vice-President Harry S. Truman, a Missourian, the state's six living former governors, both U. S. senators, the chairmen of both the Democratic and Republican State Committees, and groups representing education, labor, farmers, business, industry, the professions as well as women's groups, religious, fraternal and patriotic societies.

Well Supported Campaign

An intensive campaign for the adoption of the proposed document got under way last December 5 when the Missouri Committee for the New Constitution was set up at a statewide citizens' meeting in Jefferson City. Jacob M. Lashly of St. Louis, former president of the American Bar Association, was named chairman, and Dr. Franc L. McCluer, president of Westminster College, Fulton, who was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention, was appointed executive director.

From headquarters in St. Louis the work of raising campaign funds, organizing committees in practically all of Missouri's 114 counties, scheduling of speakers, and preparing and issuing of news releases, literature and advertising was directed.

The Missouri League of Women Voters which had long advocated constitutional revision and had led in the campaign for the calling of the convention and in the election of delegates-at-large was credited with a large share of the success at the election.

The Governmental Research Institute compiled a wealth of material for the use of convention delegates and issued a series of bulletins on the provisions of the new document which were widely circulated.

Acknowledgment must be made of the help given the movement by the National Municipal League. At the League's National Conference on Government in St. Louis, in November 1941, when state constitutional revision was discussed, the statewide committee for the revision of Missouri's constitution was organized and the movement got off to an auspicious start.

The Convention met on September 21, 1943, and, after a year during which there was much debate, discussion and compromise, the new constitution which was signed by all but four of the 83 delegates was of-

fered to the people.

Much of the old constitution containing many provisions which are legislative in character is included in the new without any change. The revised document which is 11,000 words shorter is more logically arranged and better organized than the old. Because the articles are interdependent it was decided to offer the constitution as a whole rather than by separate amendments.

In many instances, especially in the legislative article, the delegates stopped short of attaining the goals desired by more progressive citizens of the state; but in every branch of government there is great improvement.

What are the principal gains to be accomplished for the people in the new constitution? They are:

A completely coordinated court system, with the Supreme Court empowered to shift judges from one court to another whenever necessary to prevent delays in administration of justice;

Speedier, cheaper and surer justice through authorizing the Supreme Court to make rules of practice and procedure instead of retaining that power in the legislature;

Retention of the nonpartisan court plan exactly as the people voted it four years ago, notwithstanding determined efforts of a group of lawyers in the convention to destroy it;

Executive Reorganization

Creation of not to exceed fourteen administrative departments under the governor to replace the 72 agencies now in existence, thus substituting efficiency for uncoordinated, haphazard administration:

Consolidation of the nine agencies assessing and collecting state taxes in one Revenue Department, thus making efficiency instead of political patronage the controlling consideration in revenue collection;

Abolition of the power of committees of the Senate and House to defeat progressive legislation by refusing to report bills for action on the floor, and the abolition of secret votes in committees by which special-interest lobbyists can control legislation;

Abolition of the political election of the state superintendent of schools, taking the school system out of politics by the creation of a bipartisan Board of Education, which will select a state director of education;

Removal of maximum tax rates which cities, counties and school districts may vote, thus removing restrictions which have prevented progress in many communities;

Classification of property for taxation, so that there may be different rates for different types of property. This may abolish to a large extent the perjury which is common in the making of personal tax returns, and should increase tax collections by several million dollars a year;

A mandatory provision for the merit system in penal and eleemosynary institutions;

Authority granted St. Louis to contract with other municipalities, with St. Louis County and even with political subdivisions in Illinois for airfields and other public services;

Authority for counties of over 85,000 to frame their own charters and have the type of government best suited to their needs:¹

Authority for cities and counties to condemn property for reclamation of blighted and unsanitary areas and for recreational purposes;

Authority for St. Louis and all or part of St. Louis County to organize as a metropolitan district for unified administration of public services common to the area;

Retention of the Conservation Commission setup as it was voted by the people in 1936;

Authority for the legislature to approve use of voting machines;

(Continued on page 178)

¹See also page 198 this issue.

March Toward Home Rule

New York's attorney-general traces steady progress, urges broad community responsibility for government problems, lessening of legislature's interference in local affairs.

By NATHANIEL L. GOLDSTEIN*

A MERICA is a government that springs from the people. The ruling power of the state is vested, not in any particular class or group, but in the members of the community as a whole. A government "of the people, for the people and by the people" signifies a democracy, and "a democracy really means," says Lord Bryce, "nothing more or less than the rule of the whole people expressing their sovereign will by their votes."

The Declaration of Independence speaks "of the people." The preamble of our constitution refers to "the people of the United States." Under our system the power of government reposes "in the people" and they are therefore, in political and legal theory, the supreme law givers, law interpreters and law administrators. Our government fundamentally is opposed to the deposit of unlimited power in any single authority. That is why we provide for the executive, the legislative and the judicial branches of government, each with limited and circumscribed powers.

Within our lifetime we have seen government syphoned from the sev-

eral states into the central reservoir in Washington and by the same process drawn from the subdivisions into the state. The bloodstream of democracy flows in the local units of government—the county, the town, the city and the village. If free government is to succeed, the tenets of democracy must be taught and practiced in the local units of government so that people may be trained to rule and be ruled.

This brings us to the focal point at issue. What quantum of home rule should be accorded to the people of any particular unit of government, for after all home rule in its broadest sense means the power of local self-government. That has been the fundamental question in all home rule controversies which have been agitated in New York and other states. Home rule has ceased to be an academic question to the many people who reside in the county, the town, the city and the village. The manner of government, and the repository of control over their affairs. materially affects the way of life of thousands of people who live and work within a local unit.

Legal tradition vests in the state complete control over its municipalities. The state is regarded as the creator and the municipal corporation as the creature. The state may create a local unit or destroy it, give powers to it or take them away. The

^{*}Public service is no new experience for Attorney-General Goldstein. A few of his many public offices have been deputy attorney-general, consulting statistician to the Naval Affairs Committee of Congress, and assistant counsel to the late Samuel Untermeyer on the Legislative Committee to Investigate Housing.

only limitation which may be put on this power is by constitutional specification, by the people of the entire state.

When the first constitution of the State of New York was framed, economic and political conditions of the time dictated the necessity of no great limitations on the absolute power of the state. But as localities grew in size and importance and also as some of their problems became more singular to themselves and less closely related to the interests of the rest of the state, the need of determining what are the functions of the local community and what of the state arose.

Division of Powers

In its very nature the differentiation is not, and never can be, entirely free from perplexity. Efforts to prescribe a definite municipal orbit, excluding state activity wholly therefrom, bring about confusion, as do the efforts to define the scope of state government without taking into account local government.

There are 62 cities in New York, which has become one of the most urban states in America. The largest, New York, is also the largest city in population in the world, having well over 7,400,000 people—more than half the people in the state.

There are 62 counties in the state, within whose confines are included all the units of local government. To these people home rule becomes important. Their goal is not complete local autonomy but rather a division of governmental responsibility between the state and the local unit.

The desire is to permit local control of matters which are best administered locally, without legislative interference by the state. Home rule in its purest sense is designed to relieve the legislature from the burden of regulating such matters, but does not impair its broad power to make laws for the general welfare of those subject to its jurisdiction or to establish uniform minimum standards which citizens of the state must observe. Including New York, the constitutions of seventeen states grant a measure of home rule to cities.

In New York State some measure of home rule is enjoyed by the cities, the counties and the villages. In this article, however, I shall confine my discussion to city home rule.

The cities of New York obtained the right of home rule by two methods. First, negatively, by constitutional prohibitions against interference by the legislature in matters of purely local concern and, second, affirmatively by constitutional grants of powers of local legislation.

From 1821 to 1923 only the first method was in use. The city home rule constitutional amendment of 1923 and the city home rule act of 1924 made the second method available. The New York State constitution was amended in 1821, 1846 and 1874 to impose restrictions upon the enactment by the legislature of certain types of law affecting cities.

The constitution of 1894 contained a provision (Article XII, Section 2) conferring upon the mayor of a city of the first class and upon the mayor and legislative body of every other city a "suspensive veto power" over special city laws passed by the state legislature. This concession did not appease the demand of cities for home rule, although it indicated an awareness of the problem. The struggle continued for an affirmative grant of powers of local legislation.

First Grant of Home Rule

It was not until January 1, 1924, when the city home rule amendment adopted in 1923 (Article XII, Sections 2 to 7) became effective, that the cities themselves were able to legislate. Briefly, the amendment reserved to the legislature the power to enact general laws whether or not they related to the "property, affairs or government" of cities, and special laws which did not relate to such matters. The legislature could free itself from this restraint, for upon an emergency message from the governor and a two-thirds vote of the Senate and Assembly it could enact a "law relating to the property, affairs or government of cities, which shall be special or local either in its terms or in its effect" (Section 2).

In Section 3 there is an affirmative grant of power to cities "to adopt and amend local laws not inconsistent with the constitution and laws of the state" relating to certain specified subjects, but curiously enough it did not authorize them to adopt local laws in relation to their "property, affairs or government." On the other hand, the legislature, under Section 2, could not invade the field of "property, affairs or government" of a particular city, except by the "emergency message" route. Thus a "no man's land" was created in the seg-

ment of the field of "property, affairs or government" of a city not covered by the specific subjects enumerated in the constitutional grant of legislative power to the cities.

Under Section 3 of that city home rule amendment the legislature was further directed to provide machinery for the exercise of the power to adopt and amend local laws granted to cities, and under Section 5 it was authorized by general laws to confer on cities such further powers as it might from time to time deem expedient. These amendments gave the legislature some discretion in defining its power in this regard, as well as laving down procedural rules for its exercise. They tended to give some elasticity to home rule, for otherwise the legislature would have been compelled to define the power to adopt and amend local laws strictly in accordance with the constitutional grant.

To complete the picture, the city home rule law was enacted by the state legislature in 1924 pursuant to the direction contained in Section 3 of the city home rule amendment of 1923. It limited the legislative powers of cities to the subjects specified in the constitution. A definite procedure was prescribed for the exercise of the power to adopt and amend local laws.

In 1928 the city home rule act was amended to confer upon cities the "power to adopt and amend local laws in relation to the property, affairs or government of a city including, but not limited to the" subjects specified in the constitution which somewhat cured the defect existing heretofore in this "no man's land."

As the city home rule act existed prior to January 1, 1939, various restrictions were imposed upon the local legislative powers of cities. It forbade the enactment of certain types of local laws; certain laws were made subject to a referendum; a local law could not supersede a general law relating to the property, affairs or government of a city or any law, general or special, which did not relate to the property, affairs or government of a city; no local law could supersede special city legislation enacted upon an emergency message from the governor.

Local Powers Expanded

As a result of the amendments submitted by the 1938 constitutional convention and approved by the voters, and subsequent changes in the city home rule law, the local legislative powers of cities have been considerably expanded. Under the 1938 constitution power is granted to every city to enact "local laws not inconsistent with the constitution and laws of the state relating to its property, affairs or government" instead of a limited list of subjects. In addition the constitution confers upon cities the power to adopt local laws "not inconsistent with this constitution and the laws of the state" with respect to a lengthy list of subjects, whether or not such local laws relate to the property, affairs or government of the city. Thus the language of the constitution, while it gives the state prior rights in this field, gives to the cities the right to act to the extent that the state has failed to exercise its rights.1

*Under the 1939 revision of the city

We arrive now at the answer to the query: "What quantum of home rule should be accorded to the people of any particular unit of government?" In my opinion if we are to continue building our form of democracy, we must, as McQuillin in his work on Municipal Corporations points out, leave each community free to choose the kind of local government best suited to its needs, for with full responsibility resting upon them the people would become educated in the principles of local government and develop a common interest in community affairs.

Unhampered local control would permit prompt action in dealing with local governmental problems as they arise from day to day. The state legislature would be relieved of the details of local government and avoid uncertain and conflicting legislation relating to what the community can or cannot do. It would tend to simplify local organization. It would remove from the state legislature the temptation to interfere with city affairs for reasons of partisan politics. Just as all advances in government take time, so will greater home rule continue to wend its weary course. and eventually the desideratum will be obtained.

home rule law the legislature has to a certain extent surrendered rights to the cities that were not required by the constitutional amendment of the year before. It has, for example, given cities the right to supersede any state law not general in its effect which refers to the property, affairs or government of a city. Cities are also given specific control over local transit matters. See "Refining Home Rule for Cities," by George H. Hallett, Jr., the Review, June 1939, p. 456; also "City Home Rule Extended in New York," the Review, June 1944, p. 304.—Editor.

Citizen Education in Britain

Association mobilizes groups and individuals to promote study, discussion and action on democratic citizenship among youth and adults at home and in the armed forces.

By MARJORIE TAIT*

RITAIN'S Association for Education in Citizenship was founded in 1935 "to advance training in citizenship, by which is meant training in the moral qualities necessary for the citizen of a democracy, the encouragement of clear thinking in everyday affairs and the acquisition of a knowledge of the modern world."

The association is non-party and non-sectarian and membership is open to all in sympathy with its object. Members are attached to their local branch or, where there is no branch, to headquarters in London. There are four types of membership: individual: student (with nominal subscription); corporate, open to schools and colleges, school and college societies and to local branches of national associations: affiliated. open to organizations, carrying the right to representation on the Association's council. The Association derives its funds entirely from members' subscriptions and donations.

From its founding most though not all of the Association's members have been professionally concerned in the educational system as teachers, lecturers, directors, inspectors or in some other official connection with In 1939 an Advisory Committee of Voluntary Organizations, representing 33 national voluntary groups, was set up by the Association to provide assistance for such organizations in training their members in citizenship.

The Association attempts to achieve its object in six stated ways:

- 1. It collects information in regard to training in citizenship in schools, colleges and voluntary organizations at home and abroad.
- 2. It arranges for the publication of books and pamphlets.

The Association through its members is in touch with every kind of educational institution and is able to record progress and to relay information about successful experiments in all methods of education for citizenship. Individuals and organizations can and do enrich each other's experience by way of the Association files of school experiments, youth parliaments, discussion group methods, etc. From time to time books and pamphlets are pub-

an educational authority. Recently, however, the vast and rapid spread of informal education among adolescents in youth organizations and among adults in and out of the armed forces has stimulated a general inquiry into informal methods of educating for citizenship, and youth leaders, leaders of civilian discussion groups and those taking part in the services' educational schemes join the Association in increasing numbers.

^{*}Mrs. Tait is secretary of the London Union Girls Clubs (250 groups) as well as organizing secretary of Britain's Association for Education in Citizenship. She has been active in social and youth work for a number of years; was formerly a lecturer for the Workers Educational Association.

lished which incorporate the most valuable material so collected.

Major publications have been Education for Citizenship in Secondary Schools, Education for Citizenship in Elementary Schools, symposia by distinguished and experienced teachers. A third book in this series, Education for Citizenship in the Universities, is in preparation. Some records of educational experiments in schools were collected and published as Experiments in Practical Training for Citizenship in 1937. A Bibliography of Social Studies is being revised.

The first book specifically dealing with informal methods appeared in 1940, Roads to Citizenship, a lucid and attractive account of the many techniques in use. In 1941 Mrs. Eva M. Hubback's Discussion Groups for Citizens examined and advised upon the technique of leading and organizing discussion groups, particularly among adults, and provided a bibliography for their use.

Discussion Handbooks

The great call for help in this field is further being met by the publication of a series of pamphlets entitled *Unless We Plan Now*—, handbooks for discussion groups. These cheap and attractive pamphlets, written by specialists on subjects of concern to every citizen, have been called for widely. On its appearance the series was placed in army bibliographies.

3. The Association issues a journal, The Citizen, containing articles, reviews and schemes of work.

The question of publication of new works and revision of existing ones

¹Oxford University Press, 1935. ²Oxford University Press, 1939. is rendered difficult by the acute national paper shortage. This has also temporarily affected the usefulness of the Association bulletin, now reduced to two or three issues yearly.

4. The Association arranges conferences and meetings on questions affecting education in democratic citizenship, to promote discussion in the press and elsewhere.

It is the policy of the Association to cooperate closely with other voluntary organizations and with the statutory educational authorities in promoting conferences, courses of training and all kinds of discussion of public affairs.

In Autumn 1943 a nine-lecture course in Educating Young People for Citizenship was introduced into the training course for youth leaders of the National Association for Girls' Clubs.

In spring 1944, at the request of a County Education Authority, a ten-lecture refresher course was organized for teachers on Education for Citizenship—through History, Geography, Economics, etc.

Later in 1944 a residential weekend school was planned and directed at the request of a county youth organizer for 80 boys and girls, young workers of fifteen to eighteen years, to study the housing, schools, industries, local associations and government of a chosen district, to discuss the responsibilities of the young citizen in his neighborhood and the wider implications and more complex demands of that national and world citizenship to which he must proceed.

In a London area a group of 30 girls, members of the local branch of the National Union of Girls' Train-

ing Corps, studied local government with an expert in a ten-week, leisure-time course, forming themselves into a town council, drawing up schemes for rehousing and industrial replanning, appointing their own housing and education committees and studying especially the problem and responsibility of allocating public moneys.

In an industrial town of the Midlands 90 boys and girls from different youth organizations listened to a series of lectures, followed by open discussion, on Clear Thinking, the Formation of Public Opinion, and How Public Opinion Works in a Democracy. In cooperation with the British Council a course has been initiated on The Government of Britain for refugees in the British Isles.

Army Discussion Groups

Much interesting work has been done in cooperation with the Education Corps of H.M. Forces. Lecturers have been supplied on request to units and educational courses organized by officers of the Corps. In the summer of 1943 four one-week training schools for potential leaders of army discussion groups were held. In these courses lectures on social problems were combined with study of the nature of knowledge, opinion and belief, the function of the press and cinema in a democracy, the individual's responsibility as a unit of public opinion. Practice was given in leading discussion groups.

These are sample activities undertaken in collaboration with other organizing bodies. In addition the Association continues to provide some types of meeting which are planned and administered entirely by its own officers and members.

Two of its conferences have been conspicuously successful. In April 1943 and again in January 1944 conferences on reconstruction, under the title Unless We Plan Now—, were organized for school boys and girls over fifteen years of age. Many hundreds of young people attended each of these conferences, which were held in London, the first for four and the second for five days. So many applications for places were received that hundreds had to be disappointed.

Speakers were frankly delighted and sometimes amazed by the keen interest, the extent of information and, chiefly, by the solid sense of social responsibility shown by these young people still at school. After all conferences efforts are made to follow up in the schools by assisting in the formation of current affairs groups, by providing book lists, lending books, advising on films or supplying speakers.

The 1944 conference has had one scarcely anticipated result. Its main subjects were Educational Reconstruction and the Beveridge Report. The session on education in the U.S.A. roused such a vociferous demand for more information that arrangements were made through the New York Herald-Tribune to put as many of those present as possible in touch with American school boys and girls.

In the summer vacation of 1943 a school was held for teachers on The Teaching of the Social Studies. The school was held in London, in the partially destroyed Morley College.

5. The Association maintains a

library and an information service for advice on schemes of work, sources from which speakers may be obtained and suitable books.

Much of the day-to-day work of the staff involves answering inquiries from varied sources. A young mother writes to say she has gathered a small group of parents together in her neighborhood to study the educational system in which their children will grow up. She asks for suggestions about books, speakers and how to obtain films,

A group of youngsters who have formed their own club asks for advice on drawing up a constitution. The clerk of a Youth Parliament asks for news of the activities of other such groups in different parts of the country. A soldier inquires as to how he can begin to prepare himself to take part in the work of adult education after demobilization. A civilian discussion group in a lonely village asks for study schemes for the coming winter.

6. The Association makes representations with regard to training in citizenship to appropriate educational bodies.

The Association is in constant touch with the Board of Education and its staff has given oral evidence and prepared memoranda for two of the Board's departmental committees, the McNair Committee on the Training of Teachers and Youth Leaders and the Norwood Committee on Curriculum and Examinations. Written and oral evidence was also submitted to the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, and an appreciation of the work of the Association appears in the Council's re-

port on Training for Citizenship (1944).

Early in the war the Association, in common with so many other organizations with headquarters in London, suffered considerable losses. Premises, equipment, records and much of the library were destroyed, and for a considerable time work proceeded under great difficulties in temporary premises.

Interest Despite War.

In June 1943 a central office was re-opened in Westminster. In spite of handicaps indissociable from war, many factors have contributed during this period to promote the work of educating the citizens. An acute general sense of the individual citizen's tasks in a national emergency. recognition of the complexity of decisions which will have to be taken by young people now growing up to citizenship, a general interest in education stimulated by a series of excellent Government Papers and the Education Bill passed in 1944 by Parliament, the conception of national responsibility for leisure-time provisions for youth-all promote a state of the public mind favorable to educational enterprise.

The principal officers of the Association are the president, Sir Richard Livingstone, Hon. D.Litt., Hon. LI.D., President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, author of Education for a World Adrift and The Future in Education; the chairman, Sir Ernest D. Simon, M.A., former Lord Mayor of Manchester and Member of Parliament, author of A City Council from Within, The Smaller Democ-

(Continued on page 204)

Early Planning Pattern Found

How the experts of 3300 years ago boldly blocked out master plan to minimize destructiveness of Nile River and maximize social benefits told by ancient records.

AUTHOR UNKNOWN*

IN THE third year of the reign of the gracious and merciful Nwab'i Ch'ow it came to pass that the Nile was angered, and began to rise above his banks. Up the stream many peasants were drowned and many houses were carried away by the dark waters, but at Cairo the palace of the Pharaoh was protected by a large dike with retaining levees, so the court was not much concerned about this flood.

One day, however, a palace guard came breathless before the Pharaoh and reported that the dike around the palace was weakening, and that it would not last many more days. So the Pharaoh cut off his head for being a harbinger of bad tidings, and called his planning board.

"Gentlemen," said the Pharaoh, "we are faced with a limited emergency. The dike outside the palace is in some danger of collapse, and I would like to have you make plans for strengthening it. I don't want any of your landscaping on top of the dike, and I might as well tell you that you cannot keep the Nile out by zoning this as 'dry land': you must get to work on something fundamental. If you succeed, I will reward you well, I will even make you permanent; but if you fail I will

personally with my own hands tie

So the Planning Board hired some offices and got an allocation from the treasury and they appointed regional consultants in remote sections of Egypt and they assembled a great technical staff from the leading universities, and then they sat down with some scratch-papyrus to figure out a program.

"Our first need," they cried, "is for Basic Data. We cannot plan without facts." So they set up a Committee to Correct Deficiencies in Hydrologic Data, and the Committee sent out field agents to interrogate the oldest inhabitants as to the behavior of the river, what was the highest flood crest within their memory, what was the secular trend, if any, and what was the periodicity of recurrence. Since many of these old gaffers had bad memories, their stories did not always click, so the Committee hired a lot of statisticians who reconciled the conflicting accounts by establishing a standard deviation. This was multiplied by the square root of pi, and was called The Index.

In the meanwhile another subcommittee had been set up to investigate the causes of the weakness in the

you to a tree and watch the water rise over your heads." And with those words he turned back to his lyre and lotus brandy and a darkskinned lady from up near the Second Cataract.

So the Planning Board hired some

^{*}This manuscript describing an example of ancient planning procedure is said by the League member who submits it to be a translation from an original papyrus of approximately the twelfth century B. C.

existing dike. "If we cannot profit by past mistakes," the Board announced in the Egyptian Planning Quarterly, "we might make the same mistakes again." The Committee on Past Mistakes, realizing the need for Comprehensive Planning, appointed several study groups to deal with Engineering Aspects, Social Aspects, Human Aspects and Fiscal Aspects; and a special group of sociologists considered Community Life in a Planned Monarchy.

Ignore the Positive

The reports of these groups attracted wide attention in planning circles; the Engineering group reported that the dike was leaking because of defective riprapping and excessive seepage, but nobody paid any attention to them because they were so pedestrian and obviously had the narrow, biased viewpoint of an "Action Agency." It was the other reports that really made a stir.

The Social group informed the Board that there was not enough play-space on the dike for the underprivileged children of the nearby marshes; that four out of seven dike families were spending less than twenty sesterces per capita per annum for leafy green vegetables; and that the dike itself acted as an arbitrary social barrier between the river-boat people and the marshdwellers. It recommended a sweeping investigation of relief administration, and advocated the exportation of aliens who were public charges.

The group on Fiscal Aspects brought out the fact that all the bonds on the dike had not yet been amortized, and that at the present rate it would take twenty years to do so. It also discovered that the dike, which was government property and therefore tax-free, was in no less than four overlapping tax districts (the Kingdom of Egypt, the county of Cairo, the city of Cairo, and the Lower Nile Conservancy District). The group recommended a drastic overhauling of "our antiquated tax system, the elimination of obsolete units of government, and curtailment of excessive governmental expenditures."

All this time the dark waters of the Nile were rising, and the seepage through the dike was faster. The Pharaoh had moved his lyre and lotus brandy upstairs, and sent his girl friend home in a skiff, and the Planning Board sent him an Interim Progress Report calling for more basic data, comprehensive approach to the problems, and coordinated effort at all levels of government.

The next step of the Planning Board was to make a Master Plan. This Plan provided for the comprehensive development of the Nile all the way from Lake Tsana to the Delta-it was a social as well as a physical plan for the wise conservation and utilization of all Egypt's resources-both human and natural. At the last minute one of the despised Engineers got them to include the strengthening of the dam around the palace, but they would have preferred to exclude it, since it was a small detail that could be filled in later in accordance with "the broad principles and objectives blocked out with a bold hand in the master plan." After the master plan had been "boldly blocked out" it went through several revisions which carefully emasculated anything that might offend the land-owners upstream or that might not meet the approval of the "cooperating agencies." The Master Plan was then printed up in a tentative form and circulated "for technical review" among the leading scholars and public officials of the country, while the Board went on a short vacation trip on a steamer up the Nile to rest from its labors.

Everybody said they were crazy to go out in a boat when the river was in flood, and the Pharaoh reminded them of the punishment that awaited them if they did not arrange for buttressing the dike. But they said that there was no use in devising hasty plans without adequate basic data, nor in failing to see the wood for the trees, so they left their comprehensive plan for criticism by the experts, and they left their regional officers in charge of integrating anything that came up, and off they went, up the angry Nile.

The day after they left the dike gave way, and the Nile poured over the city of Cairo, and everybody was drowned—including the Pharaoh—except for the planners. When they came back, and found their plans had washed away with everything else, they said, "Well, it wasn't a very good plan anyway." And they sat down and started to draft another.

NEW CONSTITUTION FOR MISSOURI (Continued from page 167)

Authority for the legislature to provide for statewide registration of voters. Registration was limited under the former constitution to cities of more than 10,000 population and counties of more than 100,000;

Revision of the plan for apportionment of State Highway Department funds, giving the Highway Commission discretion as to where the money shall be expended. All Highway Department expenditures now are in rural areas. Under the new constitution a part of the money could be used to build the highway system through St. Louis, Kansas City and other cities.

The new constitution went into effect March 29, but the General Assembly has until July 1, 1946, to bring the statutory laws into conformity with its provisions. Many changes will be required and it is expected that the legislature will take at least a year to make revisions.

A joint committee of the Senate and House was created some weeks ago to prepare a program for the legislature, the purpose being to prepare the bills which are mandatory. Most of the preparation of the bills will be by the Committee on Legislative Research whose director is Charlton F. Chute on leave from his duties as director of the Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis.

There are several shortcomings in the new constitution, and one or two headaches such as the provision for a double preaudit. The initiative is a popular method of achieving reforms in Missouri, however, and it will probably be invoked some time in the next few years in behalf of a unicameral legislature and a short ballot.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Many Cities Consider Manager Plan

All Sections of Country Seek Local Improvement

DESPITE preoccupation of the voters with the war effort, numerous communities throughout the country, looking forward to the postwar era, are interested in the council-manager plan as a means of making local government more efficient and financially sound.

The City Manager League of Springfield, Massachusetts, has resumed activities looking to the adoption of Plan E, which provides for a manager chosen by a council elected by proportional representation. A petition had been prepared for the purpose in 1941 but the movement was suspended because of the unsettled situation caused by the World War. Leaders of the movement believe that the voters should have an opportunity to choose a new type of government, in place of Springfield's bicameral council and mayor, to meet postwar problems. It is planned to circulate petitions for a vote in November. Even if Plan E is adopted then two more years will elapse before it will become effective.

The Plan E Club of Revere, Massachusetts, has inaugurated a series of meetings in various districts of that city in a campaign to foster the adoption of the council-manager plan and proportional representation.

The North Adams, Massachusetts, Transcript notes the success of the manager plan in other cities and predicts a future move for its adoption in that city, although thus far an organized

opposition has defeated previous attempts for its adoption.

The voters of **Chester**, **Vermont**, approved the town manager plan on March 6.

The Burlington, North Carolina, Civic Committee has filed with the Alamance County Board of Elections a petition of 2,000 names calling for a special election on the council-manager plan. It has also presented to the representatives of the county in the State Senate and House a bill to amend the Burlington charter to include the manager plan.

Support for a bill in the state legislature that would permit a local referendum on the manager plan for Kingston, North Carolina, was withdrawn after the authority of the manager to discharge employees was eliminated from the proposed plan.

In Spartanburg, South Carolina, interest in the council-manager plan has become active. The Spartanburg Journal is editorially championing a movement to bring about adoption of the plan, and a group of business men has been formed for that purpose. The United Commercial Travelers Council, at a meeting in February attended by 50 business men, adopted a resolution favoring the plan and a public campaign of education. At a meeting of 200 citizens on March 2 a resolution was adopted calling for a referendum on the manager plan at the May 8 general election.

The Anderson, South Carolina, Independent praises the manager plan and suggests a local referendum on its adoption.

The mayor and council of Cairo, Georgia, have deferred action on setting a date, for an election on a city manager proposal contained in a city charter amendment enacted at the current session of the state legislature with

a referendum provision. Further study of the proposal was suggested by council members.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of Tampa, Florida, voted overwhelmingly on February 8 its approval of committee recommendations for a manager form of government for Tampa. It decided recently to take a poll to obtain a cross-section of local opinion on the manager plan.

Eight of eleven women who are heads of representative organizations in Tampa have endorsed the manager plan.

Final recommendations provide for a council, or board of representatives, of seven, to be elected by city-wide vote. The city would be divided into six districts, with a representative chosen from each, but voted on by the entire city; a seventh member would be elected strictly at large, and would act as chairman and mayor.

The previous idea of holding preliminary district elections to nominate two candidates from each district was discarded in favor of a provision that "if no candidate in any of these seven groups polls a majority in the first election, then the two candidates receiving the greatest number of votes in that group will go into a run-off election to determine the winner" (a complication which proportional representation would obviate).

A bill providing for a referendum vote in Chattanooga, Tennessee, in November 1946, on the question of adopting the council-manager plan has been passed in the state legislature and signed by the governor. A bill has also been introduced by Representative Robert A. Morrison of Chattanooga which, without a referendum, would substitute appointed executives as operating heads of the various departments now under each of the five members of the city commission, who would

remain in general charge of the city administration. Although not so stated in the bill, its author claims that the commission could establish a form of manager plan by placing all existing departments in an executive department headed by a manager; but the bill does not require this, and the commissioners would retain some administrative duties including personnel matters. This bill for a so-called "true commission plan" was put forward to provide a different form from the present Chattanooga government to compete with the manager plan that will be voted on next year.

Rogers City, Michigan, a newly incorporated city, adopted a councilmanager charter on February 13 by a vote of 662 to 72. The charter provides that it shall take effect immediately after canvass of the votes by the charter commission, but the entire incorporation procedure is in litigation and until this is cleared the charter cannot become effective, according to the International City Managers' Association.

A vote is to be taken in April on the manager plan in Howell, Michigan.

In a vote on March 5 to advise the charter revision commission, 696 citizens of Mount Clemens, Michigan, favored the manager plan and 822 preferred the present commission plan. Less than one-third of the registered voters participated.

A movement is under way looking toward an election this spring on manager government for the village of Morton Grove, Illinois.

A charter commission in **Crookston**, **Minnesota**, is considering the advantages of drafting a manager charter.

The Kansan of Kansas City, Kansas, applauding the movement for the manager plan in Independence, Kansas, where it was adopted on January 23, laments that its own city has not done the same.

Petitions calling for a special election on the manager plan have been circulated in **Herington**, **Kansas**.

Parsons, Kansas, defeated a proposed council-manager charter on February 20 by a vote of 2,002 to 960.

The La Junta, Colorado, city council has endorsed a bill in the state legislature to simplify procedure for cities desiring to change from the mayor-council form to commission or council-manager government.

The tax and legislative committee of the Chamber of Commerce of El Paso, Texas, has recommended a charter amendment to provide the manager plan.

Proposed amendments to the charter of Reno, Nevada, which have been prepared by the city administration and introduced in the legislature, include power for the city council to employ an administrative assistant for the mayor, to take over administrative duties but with no authority to hire or discharge personnel. Another constitutes an authorization for a local referendum, at the 1947 election, on the council-manager plan, with the manager to have the right to hire and fire subject to civil service regulations.

Clifford Clinton, candidate for the mayoralty nomination at the April primary in Los Angeles, California, advocates the council-manager plan.

The International City Managers' Association reports that at the end of 1944 there were 587 managers in service, thirteen of whom were serving two communities and one was serving three. Of this 587, 88 had served more than one city—57 were serving their second city; sixteen their third, thirteen their fourth, and two (John N. Edy and C. M. Osborn) were in their fifth manager job. The average tenure was seven and a half years, but there are eleven managers with a quarter of a century of management. There were

97 appointments to manager positions during 1944-22 were to cities just beginning to operate under the manager plan. Seventy-one per cent of these appointees had had some experience in government previous to their appointment. There were ten promotions from one city to another, nine former managers came back into service, 31 were promoted from administrative positions within the city, while eighteen held administrative posts in governments outside the city. There were eighteen appointees with no governmental experience and eleven whose experience is unknown. There were 64 separations in 1944—eight deaths and 56 removals or resignations; three went into military service, five took federal positions, two went to state governments, nine to other city positions, two have since returned to manager posts. eleven entered private business, two are unemployed, eight retired, and the occupation of fourteen is unknown.

San Diego Installs Cooperative In-Service Training Plan

The city council of San Diego, California, in cooperation with the school system, has inaugurated a comprehensive in-service and pre-entry training program for municipal employees, reports the International City Managers' Association.

It will be administered by a full-time "training officer" under supervision of the municipal personnel director.

A training advisory committee was set up to evaluate existing programs, develop training policies and procedures and assist in getting training units started. This committee consists of the personnel director representing the city manager, the training officer representing the vocational school, the head of the department for which a program is being prepared and a representative of the city employees.

The training policy, which has been submitted to all employees, sets forth the following principles that are considered essential to a sound training program:

- 1. Training to be recognized as an important and essential part of operations:
- 2. All training taken by the employee to be made part of his personnel record and to be given definite consideration relative to promotions:

consideration relative to promotions;
3. Lines of promotion to be clari-

fied and publicized;

4. Training facilities to be made available for all employees desiring preparation for better jobs and capable of benefiting therefrom;

5. Pre-employment and induction training facilities to be made avail-

able;

6. Training courses may be organized wholly or in part on city time when authorized.

The training program has been started with department heads, supervisors and foremen, to secure understanding and cooperation at the top; this will be done through a continuous program of foremen conferences and job management instruction.

New Mexico Municipal League Reorganizes

A meeting of representatives from 26 of the 64 incorporated cities, towns and villages and from 12 of the 31 counties of New Mexico, in Albuquerque on January 27, resulted in reorganization of the New Mexico Municipal League which had become inactive. J. R. Kastler, mayor of Raton, was elected president; Roy H. Daniels, acting mayor of Roswell, vice-president; and Manuel Lujan, mayor of Santa Fe, secretary-treasurer. An executive committee of nine members in addition to the three officers was also named. Four city attorneys were appointed as a committee to draft legislation.

At a meeting of the executive committee on February 24 a constitution and by-laws were unanimously adopted and a tentative budget approved. A legislative committee was chosen. The legislative policy of the League was expressed as in favor of laws tending to give municipalities more control of their internal affairs.

RUPERT F. ASPLUND, Director

Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico

Employee Unions Add 51 Locals in 1944

Municipal employee unions affiliated with national labor groups were organized in 102 cities with populations of 10,000 or more in 1944 while 51 locals disbanded, leaving a net increase of 51 for the year, according to the International City Managers' Association. The number of locals of the four major organizations operating in the governmental field was reported as 944 at the end of the year in cities of that size.

In addition local employee organizations unaffiliated with any national group were stated to be functioning in 124 such cities.

The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL) reported new locals in 38 cities, disbanding of twenty and a year-end total of 221. The State, County and Municipal Workers of America (CIO) reported organization of new locals in 25 cities, disbanding in twelve and a total of 83.

The International Association of Fire Fighters (AFL) organized new locals in 31 cities and five were disbanded; the total was 477.

The Fraternal Order of Police (unaffiliated) reports that "lodges" were organized in eight cities in 1944 and were disbanded in fourteen, the total being 163.

Half of Wisconsin's City Employees in Retirement Plan

Employees of 24 additional cities and villages were brought under the Wisconsin municipal retirement fund on January 1, 1945, bringing to 43 the total number of municipalities participating in the system, according to the American Municipal Association. It is estimated that approximately half of all the potentially eligible municipal employees are now included. Other cities are planning to come under the plan in the near future.

Constitutional Revision at Issue in Kentucky

Kentucky is seeking to change her 54-year-old constitution. At the 1944 session of the General Assembly a resolution calling for a constitutional convention was passed by both houses. However, with that initial step, the fight for a new constitution has barely begun. The constitution of 1891 provides that before a constitutional convention can be called, such a resolution must pass by a majority of all members elected to each house in two successive sessions and then be approved by a vote of the people.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that only two amendments can be submitted by the General Assembly in any biennial period, and that the present constitution contains many restrictions which seriously hamper the operation of state and local government. Examples of the latter are the five-thousand-dollar limit on officials' salaries and the five-mill limit on general purpose county tax levies.

Since the passage of the resolution considerable interest in constitutional change has been manifest in the state. A series of radio broadcasts, conducted weekly by the University of Kentucky, has been devoted to the subject. Other broadcasts are planned and a few of

the state's scholars are making comprehensive studies of the subject. Up to now interest seems to have been confined to college professors, political reporters, constitutional lawyers and the like. There has been some talk, however, of creating an organization which would attempt to stir up interest at the grass roots.

The Committee on the Constitution and Organic Laws of the State Advisory Commission on Postwar Planning is making a thorough study of state constitutions with a view to having a program developed, or at least started, if the present movement for a constitutional convention should eventuate in the actual calling of a constitution.

I. E. REEVES

J. E. KE

University of Kentucky

Four States Reject, One Approves Federal Tax Limit

The movement fostered by several organizations to place a 25 per cent limit on federal income and inheritance tax rates has added New Hampshire to the list of seventeen states in which one or both houses of the legislature have adopted resolutions calling for a federal constitutional amendment to that end.

The legislatures of Arkansas and Wisconsin, however, which had previously adopted such resolutions, rescinded their action.

In Illinois the lower house on March 13 also rescinded its approval given in 1943 to a resolution for the 25 per cent limit.

In the New York Senate the first of two similar resolutions failed by a tie vote. It was largely a party issue, supported by the Republican majority leader; but enough Republicans, led by Senator Thomas C. Desmond,

¹See "The Tax Limitation Delusion," the Review, February 1944, page 64.

joined with the Democrats to defeat the move. Senator Desmond stressed the revenue loss of \$6,000,000,000 or more which such a tax limit would entail, and called inconsistent an attempt by New York to limit the revenues of the federal government while the state has been accumulating handsome surpluses for postwar use.

In the last week of the session a second attempt was made and succeeded, although three Republicans joined Senator Desmond in opposition. The Assembly, however, on March 23, defeated the resolution 94-41.

The Maryland legislature had the subject under consideration also in the latter part of March.

State Employees at Five-Year Low

The Bureau of the Census has announced that the number of employees of state governments in July 1944 was 471,000, as compared to the high mark of 571,000 in July 1941. The 1944 number is the lowest in five years.

The highest number among the states last July was 51,576, in New York, followed by 42,175 in Pennsylvania, 27,934 in California, 22,285 in Illinois and 19,678 in Ohio. The smallest number, 818, was in Nevada.

The drop in personnel, according to the Census Bureau, was due to continued shortages of manpower and materials and also to taking over of the state employment services by the federal government. Payroll costs, however, are substantially higher than before the war because of longer working hours, overtime pay and higher compensation including cost-of-living bonuses.

Researcher's Digest

Los Angeles Town Hall Investigates Civil Service

Makes Recommendations to Improve City's Personnel

THE Municipal and County Government Section of Town Hall, Los Angeles, has completed a study of certain aspects of personnel administration in local government—How Can Civil Service Personnel Methods Be Improved?

The report, which represents about ten months' work by the Section, deals with open competition versus promotion from within, residence requirements, preferential credits, internship programs, in-service training, transfers between governmental jurisdictions and exchange of personnel for training purposes between government and private business.

The Section finds that, for the most part, the local civil service is a closed service. Entrance is usually possible only through the lowest ranks. Charter provisions calling for the filling of vacancies by promotion "whenever practicable" have been rigidly construed by the California courts. The accepted legal rule is that if there are persons in the service eligible to take a promotional examination, the Civil Service Commission must give such an examination before it can determine whether it is practicable to fill a vacancy by promotion.

Advantages and disadvantages of both the closed promotional system and open competition are analyzed. The study concludes that the legal requirement of either system to the exclusion of the other is unwise. It recommends, therefore, that the Civil Service Commission be entrusted with complete discretion, both as to over-all policies and as to the procedure to be followed with respect to particular vacancies. "The Commission," says the Section, "is least likely to be moved by personal considerations in connection with particular vacancies and is in the best position to guide over-all policies."

The report next turns its attention to related problems, particularly personnel at the supervisory and administrative levels.

The Section's analysis culminates in a series of recommendations. Implicit in these is recognition of the fact that most supervisory and administrative positions will continue to be filled by promotion from within. All of the recommendations have, therefore, a common purpose: to permit and encourage the entrance into the service of the best qualified personnel obtainable and to provide within the service the best possible training for supervisory and administrative posts. The recommendations are as follows:

1. That residence within a particular jurisdiction as a prerequisite to eligibility be eliminated entirely;

2. That in both open competitive and promotional examinations, preferential credits for seniority, efficiency or military service be added only after a passing grade has been attained;

3. That each jurisdiction have an internship program designed to provide appropriate training for both college graduates and promising persons already in the service who may or may not have had college work;

4. That a training division be established within the personnel unit of each jurisdiction, such division to be responsible for stimulating and coordinating training programs for the development of administrative, management and supervisory capacities, as well as for the development of specific skills;

5. That the necessary legal steps be

taken to permit transfer of civil service personnel from one jurisdiction to another without loss of seniority or retirement rights;

6. That appropriate procedures be developed for temporary transfers for training purposes between governmental jurisdictions and between government and private business.

PAUL BECKETT, Editor

Town Hall, Los Angeles

Litchfield Voters Make 'Self-Survey'

"This is the first study conducted in Connecticut involving fact-gathering by public-spirited citizens and its interpretation by competent experts," says Roderic M. Cross, president of the Litchfield (Connecticut) Voters' Club. Eighteen members of the Club supplied basic information on nineteen different aspects of the town and two borough governments under the guidance of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, whose staff members then wrote the report.

Findings of the investigation have been published in an attractively illustrated booklet, A Report to the Voters' Club, Town of Litchfield, Connecticut. which states that its "first and perhaps greatest value lies in an awakened interest in local affairs and a much clearer understanding on the part of many persons of the operation of their local government That stimulation is needed is obvious," it adds, pointing out that attendance at town meetings varies from ten to one hundred and that only a row or pressure of some group with an axe to grind brings even a modest turnout. Representative town meetings are suggested if people will not attend town and borough meetings.

The report points out that the performance of relatively minor public functions by the boroughs of Bantam and Litchfield, coupled with low citizen interest in borough affairs, indicates that "there is little reason, except tradition, for maintaining the boroughs as separate governmental units."

The study suggests that instead of a highway system divided into five separate districts with responsibility for administration divided between five selectmen, a single department be established under a professional superintendent who would be, in effect if not in name, town manager. Another possibility is to place responsibility for the conduct of the highway department on the first selectman. "Either would be a great improvement," concludes the report.

State Administrative Agencies Listed in New Texas Guide

The Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Texas has published A Layman's Guide to the Texas State Administrative Agencies prepared by Dr. Dick Smith. Each agency, board or commission of the state government is listed on a separate page with information as to how it was established—by constitution or legislative act, its date of establishment, method of selection of officials, qualifications, term of office, compensation and major duties and powers.

One by-product of the publication is the evidence it provides that "the Texas state administrative system is a good example of disintegration. At this writing," states Stuart A. MacCorkle, director of the Bureau, in the book's introduction, "there are 170 agencies, departments and institutions supervised by 122 administrative bodies The disorganization which exists in Texas administrative machinery is the result of a more or less haphazard growth with little over-all planning. . . . There are many examples of duplication and overlapping of functions, and many agencies have duties so diverse that they are unable to give sufficient attention to their primary functions, if

indeed some can be said to have a primary function."

Reapportionment for Illinois Called an Urgent Need

The latest publication of the Illinois Legislative Council discusses reapportionment. Covered are redistricting in Illinois for Congress, the State Senate and the Supreme Court.

The report quotes from a message to the legislature this year by Governor Green, who said: "I call to your attention your obligation and mine under the constitution and the law to reapportion the congressional and senatorial districts in accordance with the federal census of 1940. There has been no such reapportionment since 1901. Certainly there is a pressing need to correct the inequalities of our congressional apportionment under which Illinois now has both the largest and smallest congressional districts in the United States, one nine times the size of the other."

The study presents tables of population and maps of present and proposed districts. It raises and discusses numerous questions as to what basis of apportionment should be used but makes no recommendations.

A New Program for Kansas Elementary Schools

The Research Department of the Kansas Legislative Council has followed its publication on School District Reorganization with another entitled The Elementary School Problem. In it the Council presents detailed statistical information setting forth problems which Kansas faces in modernizing its elementary school system.

Kansas has too many school districts, states the report, for the number of pupils to be educated. The major reason for the situation, it is held, lies in the fact that district organization goes back to its establishment in

the period 1858-1880, despite the numerous important changes which have occurred since.

The school bill which the council has prepared for the legislature provides a comprehensive reorganization of the school district system and a new plan of elementary school support based on classroom units and a two-mill county levy both of which features the report describes.

New Constitution

The series of articles which appeared in Dollars and Sense in Government, publication of the St. Louis Governmental Research Institute, on the proposed new constitution for Missouri—since adopted by the voters on February 27—is now available in a single bound pamphlet. Covered are provisions for the state executive branch, the legislature, the court system, state finance, taxation, local government and local finance.

Hunt for New Revenues

Stating that the city is "on the brink of financial chaos," Robert E. Leyton, director of the Research Department of the Zanesville Chamber of Commerce, has issued a mimeographed pamphlet on Increasing Municipal Revenues. Possible sources of revenue for the city's general, fund are listed in two divisions: those requiring state action and those available without state action. Estimated receipts for 1945 and bond and interest requirements for 1945 are set forth at the end of the leaflet.

Legislative Committee

Membership on its legislative committee is open to any citizen who expresses an interest and will participate in the meetings, announces the Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc. The Bureau selects the most sig-

nificant bills from the mass of legislation introduced at Albany for action by the committee. Bills covering civil service and related subjects, workmen's compensation, unemployment ance, housing, education, assessment and taxes, government expenditures and changes in the state constitution are of greatest interest to the committee. It tries also "to consider as many as possible of the 'gimme' and special privilege bills and registers its disapproval. Legislation forcing mandatory expenditures or other compulsory actions upon municipalities is carefully scrutinized."

Legislators Listed

The Minneapolis Research Bureau has published a Roster of the 1945 Minnesota legislature "as a public service." Chairmen of committees for Senate and House are listed also.

Schools Compared

For the information of its Public Schools Committee, the Municipal League of Seattle for Governmental Research has prepared comparative statistics for eight school districts scattered through the country. Seattle is compared with Indianapolis, Kansas City (Missouri), Louisville, Minneapolis, Providence, Rochester (New York) and Denver. Listed for each are total population, total enrollment, daily attendance, number of buildings teachers' salaries, average number of pupils per teacher, number of nonsupervisory positions, property tax levy, other sources of revenue and expenditures—the latter broken down into five categories.

Mayor's Message

The San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research has issued a resume of Mayor Laphan's annual message to the supervisors on the state of affairs

of the city and county. In closing the Mayor remarked: "If democracy as we know it is to survive, we must strengthen local government and not look to Washington for our daily bread—hoping it will come to us well buttered."

Budgets

Your Tax Dollar, issued by the Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc., comments on "The State's Budget Proposal for the 1946-1947 Biennium." The Commission emphasizes that "considerable study of the state's budget presentation is necessary, as usual, in order to understand just what really is proposed" and states that the purpose of its report is to clarify the budget proposal and to indicate again how the state's budgetary practices should be improved. It calls the new budget incomplete and confusing and declares that action by the "Governor, the General Assembly and state administrators on the recommendations already presented by this Commission need not be delayed."

Imaginary Cities

"Constitutional prohibitions against local and special legislation make it impossible to clothe Philadelphia in up-to-date laws that fit," comments the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research in Citizens' Business. While there is only one city of the first class, Philadelphia, "draftsmen have always had to pretend that there might be other first class cities and have had to avoid provisions that might not be appropriate for them. And while thus writing laws for imaginary cities, they had to ignore actual conditions in Philadelphia because they would not exist in the imaginary cities."

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Woman's Foundation Holds First Workshop

Citizen Activity for Family Stressed at Rye Conference

ONE of the major fields of discussion of a four-day workshop in Rye, New York, March 1-4, sponsored by The Woman's Foundation, Inc., was citizenship and methods of stimulating the woman's participation in community, state and national affairs as a way of supporting and advancing family life.

The workshop, first organized activity of the newly announced foundation, brought together authorities in the fields of housing, citizenship, religion, the family, community service and the woman in industry, who studied problems of the American woman and the American family and developed proposals for their solutions.

In the group of men and women who served as co-chairmen of the various study areas were: Dr. Edna N. White, director of the Merrill-Palmer School: Lawrence K. Frank, consultant on child development and human conservation; Howard Vermilya, housing research director, John B. Pierce Foundation; C. W. Farrier, technical director, National Housing Agency; Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse, congresswoman from Connecticut and managing director of Institute on Women's Professional Relations; Dr. J. Hillis Miller, associate commissioner of education, New York; Mrs. Harper Sibley, president of the United Council of Church Women: Dr. Kenneth I. Brown, president of Denison University, Granville, Ohio; Dr. Robert G. Sproul, president of the

University of California; Murray Seasongood, former mayor of Cincinnati and present president of the Hamilton County Good Government League; Dr. George B. Cutten, former president of Colgate University; Mrs. Eugene Meyer, author and newspaper woman; and Dr. Leonard Mayo, president, Child Welfare League of America.

Citizen Activity

Reporting for the committee on citizenship, Dr. Cutten announced that his committee had endeavored to draw up a workable chart which would outline for women what they should know about their community, state and federal governments, how to keep well informed, what contributions they could make to good citizenship in their own areas, how these contributions could be made and what the resultant benefits would be.

In addition to the chairmen the members of the citizenship committee included Mr. Seasongood; Mrs. Marguerite J. Fisher, associate professor of political science, Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs of Syracuse University; Robert Davidson, Stephens College; R. W. Morrison, Texas civic and business leader; Arthur T. Vanderbilt, former president of the American Bar Association; Mrs. Frederick K. Weyerhaeuser, civic leader of St. Paul; and Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary, National Municipal League.

It was announced at the close of the conference that material developed by the workshop will be used as the basis for pamphlets which will be made available to interested organizations and authorities.

In addition to the report of the group on citizenship other recommendations of the committees included: community responsibility for adequate living services to the woman who must work; greater consideration of the house from the standpoint of human values and as a tool for adequate family living; a network of services in the community which would include members of the family and provide "a fuller, richer and wider participation in community life for the adult and juvenile alike"; a program which will stimulate parents to provide for the religious hungers and needs of their children.

Purposes of Foundation

Plans for The Woman's Foundation were revealed in an announcement of the board of trustees. The statement declared: "The foundation is established in the belief that promotion of the welfare of the home and the family group is the most effective means of insuring the preservation of the American way of life. The foundation seeks the fullest development of the American woman in all aspects of her life. It is deeply concerned by the rise of delinquency, by the growing divorce rate, by the widespread uncertainty, by the unrest and discontent that come with hasty and crowded living and the widening area of problems that confront the American woman. It believes that there are in America resources and agencies for solving these problems, and it purposes to develop these resources and to serve these agencies."

Dr. James M. Wood of Columbia, Missouri, chairman of the board, emphasized the fact that the foundation will in no sense attempt to duplicate programs of existing agencies, but will correlate available information from these sources and provide cooperative assistance, at the same time developing new fields of activity. The organization will derive its support from gifts and endowments from individuals and corporations and from memberships.

Women Voters Celebrate 25th Birthday

The National League of Women Voters, organized in February 1920 by a group of women meeting in Chicago, is this year commemorating its 25th anniversary. No national meeting is contemplated, but state and local leagues throughout the country are planning local celebrations.

Under the title "Let's Take a Look at Ourselves," *Action*, monthly publication of the National League, has this to say:

"In the beginning the League's task was to teach women how to mark a ballot and to use their newly won vote. The League pioneered in magnificent get-out-the-vote campaigns. But it soon became evident that lack of citizen interest in 'government by the people' could not be cured by simply urging people to the polls. They had first to recognize their dependence on government, learn how it touched their lives. Only then were they ready to become effective forces for improving and participating in their government. The goal of the League then became the much larger one of helping to make democratic government work, of creating responsibility for government in as many individual citizens as possible. The League acts, as an organization, not only on government issues for the public welfare but also to provide an opportunity for citizens to participate in their government with responsible help and leadership.

"When a member has examined for herself the bad housing of a slum area, when she has found out for herself or with the help of others how such an area can be reclaimed, when she has actually gone to a public hearing and asked her councilman for action to wipe out those bad living conditions, she has not only acted in the public interest, she has participated in govern-

ment. When she has written her senator a letter, interviewed him, made him aware in any way of her considered judgment on any issue, she has participated in government.

"But members of the League go further than participation in government; theirs is the task of showing others how to use their democratic rights. Theirs is the challenge of clarifying issues until the average citizen can understand them, of dramatizing them to catch his interest, of making it easy for him to become an active citizen.

"The League of Women Voters is not a pressure group in the usual sense. Its purpose is to let the people know, make the people care, and help the people act, so that the majority of the whole people, taking an intelligent interest in their government, can make democracy fulfill its great potentialities.

"On this our twenty-fifth anniversary it is entirely fitting that we take a few moments to rededicate ourselves to the task of helping the people of the United States provide for themselves a government which will serve their needs."

The same issue carries congratulations from Senators Arthur W. Vandenburg and J. W. Fullbright.

Middletown Women Voters Win Fight for Secret Ballot

A really secret ballot for the election of the school board has been attained by the Middletown (Connecticut) League of Women Voters after nearly eight years of work, reports the Connecticut Voter. Heretofore the slate of nominees, presented by the school board itself, lay on a table in the open and the voter, if he preferred an opposition candidate, was forced to write in a name in public view.

At the last election the League planned a last-minute assault with a candidate in opposition to one of those offered on the slate. The plot failed,

but it brought to the attention of the public the fact that the system was such that any small group of people might, at the last minute, be successful in electing a thoroughly undesirable member to the school board.

Previously the League questioned all members of the legislature—and candidates also—as to whether they would favor a bill enforcing a truly secret ballot for all elections within the city, including the school board. All agreed to work toward this end. The results of the poll were published in the local newspaper.

The school board is now prepared to change the system to present nominees in alphabetical order on a single slate and to furnish voting booths in which the actual voting may take place.

Citizen Groups Aid Youth Programs

"Teen Towns," youth centers and other methods of combatting juvenile delinquency are receiving the cooperation of various civic organizations throughout the country. The Civitan Club of Sparta, Tennessee, has been active in this direction, according to Civitan, official publication of Civitan International.

A member of the Sparta club, learning that a group of young people were interested in securing a recreation center, discussed the subject with them and placed their cause before the local Civitan Club by means of a petition signed by many of the young people as well as their parents. The petition asked permission to use the auditorium of the Community Building. The Club endorsed the proposal and appointed a committee to study the situation. The Rotary Club also endorsed the idea. On presentation to the City Council and to the trustees of the building, permission was finally secured.

The young people have formed their

organization and named it "Teen Town," for which they have elected a mayor and city council.

But the Civitan Club's recreation committee felt that the youth needed something better than this temporary headquarters. One club member offered to furnish a minimum of \$25,000 for the purchase of land for a recreation center for youth and adults. The committee has now purchased land and is laying plans for building as soon as materials are available. Club house, swimming pool, tennis courts, baseball diamond, etc., are planned. Presidents of the Civitan and Rotary Clubs. American Legion, Parent-Teachers Association and the Women's Club are members of a committee to work with the young people.

Johnson City, Tennessee, Civitan Club has formed a Junior Civitan group in the Science Hill High School.

In an address before the Phoenix Municipal League, Howard J. Smith, executive secretary of the Phoenix Citizens' Good Government Council said: "The Council is proud of its Youth Betterment Committee. This group of public-spirited men women have engaged in or sponsored so many worth while activities even to list them is a task. Together with the Community Activities Board, the identity of which is difficult to distinguish from the Youth Betterment Committee, the two are responsible for spiritual. cultural and recreational projects within a wide range."

The Citizen, published by the Citizens' League of Port Huron, Michigan, says that the city-sponsored Youth Center in the Old Taylor School, leased last winter from the Board of Education, will open as soon as a trained supervisor is secured. Civic groups have aided the Youth Advancement Committee in equipping the center.

Here and There

A New Civic Group?

According to the St. Louis Star-Times, there is interest in founding a good government council for St. Louis and St. Louis County. The newspaper has published, for the benefit of interested citizens, a series of feature stories on civic groups in other cities organized to investigate and publicize the records of candidates for public office. Described in the articles are the Detroit Citizens League, the Municipal League of Seattle and the Citizens League of Cleveland.

Watching the Legislatures

Philadelphia civic groups are sponsoring a series of weekly legislative luncheons. Speakers include prominent legislators and at each luncheon Miss Esther Lee, legislative representative of the Public Charities Association, presents a report on the progress of important bills.

Some four thousand bills are introduced annually into the New York State legislature, says the New York League of Women Voters in its Monthly News. It suggests that the responsible citizen can more easily find a path through the maze if he will keep in mind the sources of the bills, listed as follows: (1) administration bills, (2) bills of the minority party, (3) bills of important legislative committees, (4) departmental proposals, (5) bills originating with local government officials, (6) bills proposed by citizen groups, (7) bills of small importance introduced by legislators at the behest of constituents.

"Don't be a civic 'kibitzer,' deal yourself in," says the **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy.** "You don't have to be a member of the Pennsylvania state legislature to take an active hand in important state civic affairs." The Committee lists certain important bills before the legislature which all Philadelphians should actively support. One of these would consolidate the city and county governments of Philadelphia. "The combining of our overlapping agencies within the city," says the Committee, "will give you better government for less money."

Paper in a Paper

The City Manager League of Yonkers, New York, has begun publication of the City Manager League News by the simple method of buying a quarterpage once a month in the Yonkers Herald Statesman, a daily newspaper which has such complete coverage of the community that it is assumed it goes not only to League members but also to many other prospective members and to citizens in general. Officers of the League found, in addition, that with the elimination of paper, printing and postage costs, it was more economical to use newspaper space.

Municipal Forum

The Young Men's Chamber of Commerce of Yonkers will conduct weekly forums to inform young men and women of the city on the fundamentals of their municipal government. A series of thirty or more meetings is proposed at which the city manager and the heads of city departments will discuss the functions of each department. The Bulletin of the Yonkers Committee of 100 commends the Chamber "for its civic-mindedness and its sound and constructive proposal."

New Budgets

Civic organizations on the state level are interesting themselves in the budget figures now being presented to legislatures for consideration. The **Califor**- nia Taxpayers' Association reviews Governor Warren's proposals for 1945-47 in The Tax Digest for February; the Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance covers figures for that state in The Wisconsin Taxpayer.

New Sources of Revenue

A special citizens committee on new sources of revenue for Madison, Wisconsin, has suggested a 1 per cent income tax similar to that now levied in Philadelphia, special charges for sewage disposal, further study of acquisition of the Madison Gas and Electric Company, a greater share of the income and highway taxes collected by the state. A pay-as-you-go basis for future city improvements and consolidation of the city's sixteen departments into nine are also suggested in the interest of efficiency. Members of the committee consist of private citizens and city officials. Charles K. Alexander, research director of the Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, is secretary.

When Are We Old Enough?

Eight young people recently addressed the Ohio Senate Elections Committee on the question of lowering the voting age to eighteen. Six were in favor of the change, two opposed it. One of the six argued that "if young people are responsible enough to give their lives for their country in the war they are qualified to vote."

Clubs Study City Improvements
A special committee of the Florence,
(Alabama) Civitan and Exchange Clubs
has reported to its organizations on a
suggested study of municipal needs by
the civic groups of the community. Its
report, which was adopted unanimously
at a joint meeting of the two clubs,
recommended a permanent committee
composed of one representative each
from the Exchange, Civitan, Rotary,

Lions and Kiwanis Clubs, the Chamber of Commerce, the Junior Chamber of Commerce and the city commission, with the judge of Lauderdale County as the ninth member. The report listed sixteen projects for study, including the council-manager plan, public school facilities, improved water system, city employees, garbage collection, promotional plans for the city, etc. Service clubs, labor organizations, church groups and civic organizations were invited to submit to the steering committee the names of men and women from their groups willing to serve on committees to carry out the studies.

Civic Fund Drive

The Minneapolis Civic Council has just completed its eighth annual drive for funds to sustain its seven affiliated agencies and itself. These groups include: Associated Industries of Minneapolis, Better Business Bureau of Minneapolis, Hennepin County Good Roads Association, Hennepin County Safety Council, Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association, Minneapolis Research Bureau and the Minneapolis Taxpayers Association.

Five hundred volunteer workers added 797 new members to the list of over 3,000 firms which subscribed in 1944. The goal of \$240,000 was oversubscribed by \$24.658.

Correction

This department was in error in stating that the plan of civic education and participation of Dr. Albin R. Goldschmied, described in the March Review, was part of the plan for the government of metropolitan Boston which won first prize in the "Boston Contest." Dr. Goldschmied's suggestion was part of the plan offered by Boston University faculty members which was awarded a special third prize.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Michigan Tax Committee Makes Report

Recommends Improvements in Local Government Finance

A SPECIAL tax survey committee appointed by the Michigan legislature in 1944 reported in January to the 1945 legislature. It has made a number of recommendations for far-reaching changes in the state-local tax system. The changes urged look toward increasing revenues, distributing funds more equitably among local units, and simplifying procedures and eliminating badly-working provisions of existing laws.

The recommendations regarding the state sales tax have caused perhaps the greatest interest both within and without the state. The present sales tax of 3 per cent goes entirely to the state. Amendment of the law to share part of the collections-perhaps 25 per cent-with the cities had been urged in some quarters. The survey committee decided, however, that the proposals did not encourage local "self-help" and that some cities under such a scheme would get more revenue from the sales tax than they actually needed. It recommended that the rate of the tax be reduced to 21/2 per cent and that cities be authorized to impose a supplemental local sales tax at the rate of 1/2 of 1 per cent to be collected for the city by the state.

Another important recommendation was with respect to the fifteen-mill tax-limit amendment to the state constitution. Under this amendment all property taxes for county, school district and township purposes are limited to fifteen mills. The fifteen-mill limit does not affect taxes of cities and incorporated villages unless they specifically vote to have them included-and only eleven cities have done so. In the jurisdictions to which the limit applies taxes outside the levy may be voted. but a two-thirds majority is required and the special levy cannot extend for a period of more than five years. This is an insufficient period in most cases to finance important improvements, either by direct levy or by authorizing taxes to retire bonds, and the twothirds vote requirement is a further hurdle. The committee recommended that the constitutional provision be amended to permit the voting of levies by simple majority vote for a period not to exceed fifteen years.

The committee recommended another constitutional amendment to alter substantially the present uniformity clause, but in language which would appear to make a state income tax inadmissible. The language recommended was as follows: "The legislature may provide by law for the levy of taxes. It may confer by law upon units of local government such authority to levy taxes as the legislature may deem desirable. All taxes shall be uniform on the classes upon which they are imposed."

The committee also attached the problem of the state gasoline tax and motor vehicle weight tax, and without suggesting any changes in the rates recommended a simplified formula for the distribution of the proceeds. Instead of the present complicated formula of priorities for various funds and conditional allocations, which is claimed to penalize the cities in favor of rural highway debt contributions, a simple three-way distribution is recommended: the proceeds of the two taxes to be comingled and then divided 40 per cent

to the state highway department, 35 per cent to the counties and 25 per cent to the incorporated cities and villages. No recommendation was made as to how the county and city shares might be allocated to the individual units.

Other recommendations were for state equalization of property valuations as determined for purposes of taxation; thoroughgoing revision of the intangibles tax act to increase its productivity, eliminate inequalities and provide the full yield to the local units instead of two-thirds as at present; elimination of technical and procedural defects in the mining assessment law; replacement of the inheritance tax with a "modern" estate and gift tax whose proceeds would go into the primary school interest fund; and amendment of the truck mileage fee law to insure that trucks from states not granting reciprocity in this form of taxation actually be made subject to the mileage

The several recommendations, if adopted by the legislature and in the appropriate cases by the people through constitutional amendment, obviously would considerably improve the revenue position of many of the local units, especially cities, and it is not surprising that the entire report of the tax survey committee was approved by the legislative committee of the Michigan Municipal League (league of Michigan municipalities).

States Cooperate on Tax Auditing

Announcement through the Federation of Tax Administrators of fruitful results of audits made in the New York City area by auditors representing five states brings to light an interesting example of interstate cooperation footnoting James W. Martin's article, "Fed-

eral-State Tax Cooperation," in the January Review.

Alabama, California, Colorado, Iowa and Michigan have pooled their facilities for auditing out-of-state concerns in connection with sales tax and income tax investigations, with a considerable reduction in time and much less inconvenience to the taxpayer. In the New York area 54 audits were completed, with an average return of nearly \$19 per man-hour expended. In an earlier venture in Chicago, with seven states represented nine audits yielded about \$98 per man-hour. Had the states made separate investigations. 32 separate audits would have been required.

Engineering Construction Plans Exceed Six-Billion Mark

Construction amounting to nearly six and a half billion dollars was in the design stage February 1, according to the Committee on Postwar Construction of the American Society of Civil Engineers, which reports that in all, postwar construction worth sixteen and one half billion dollars has been reported as under consideration. The Committee had set a goal of fifteen billion dollars of construction in the design stage by mid-1945, and while the "under-consideration" figure now exceeds the ultimate goal, the work that has progressed to the design stage represents only 36 per cent of the goal.

The Committee's original goal had called for ten billion dollars of private construction and five billion of public works. To February 1, the work in the design stage comprised \$5,720,613,000 of public works and \$742,632,000 of private works, to give a total of \$6,445,245,000.

¹See also the Review for September 1944, p. 429, and November, p. 565.

Texas Defeats Homestead Exemption Bill

A bill to submit a constitutional amendment providing for a \$3,000 homestead tax exemption was killed in committee by the Texas House of Representatives earlier this year after vigorous opposition by the Texas League of Municipalities. The state already has a homestead tax exemption of \$1,000, but this applies only to taxes for state purposes; the proposed amendment would have exempted property from local taxation.

A brief submitted in opposition to the proposal in behalf of the cities by Bill N. Taylor, city manager of Port Arthur and former president of the League, showed that a \$3,000 exemption would reduce Port Arthur's taxable valuations by nearly 39 per cent, and cause the loss of \$222,300 of taxes annually. Port Arthur has predominantly a modest-type home development, with the average assessed valuation of homesteads estimated at \$1,800.

The brief estimated that some of the other cities would be even harder hit. In Highland Park and University Park, well-to-do suburbs of Dallas, a check made several years ago showed that a 50 per cent loss in valuations would result from homestead exemption of the type proposed. Said Mr. Taylor: "In effect, the net result of this legislation would be a knockout blow to practically every town in Texas under 10,000 population."

Borrowing Terms to Local Units More Favorable than Ever

The cost to municipalities of borrowing long-term money reached an all-time low on March 1, according to the index of municipal bond yields compiled monthly by *The Daily Bond Buyer*. The index for twenty representative issues fell to 1.46 per cent, and that

for eleven first grade bonds to 1.17 per cent, figures comparing with the peak yield of May 1933, of 5.69 per cent for the twenty-bond group and 4.9 per cent for the selected group.

For a time last fall local borrowing costs were rising, but prospects of continued high federal income tax rates (enhancing the tax-exemption feature of municipal issues), the continuing need of the federal government for large-scale borrowing at low interest rates and the generally strong position of finances in a large number of local units have all combined to drive the cost of local borrowing further downward.

The drop in interest rates—which have been at unusually low levels for some years now as judged by rates prior to the late 1930's—has been accompanied by a considerable volume of municipal bond sales. Many of the issues sold have been bonds authorized last fall in connection with projects which will not be undertaken until after the war, put out now to take advantage of low rates.

In many instances part or all of the money borrowed has been temporarily invested in federal obligations. In many cases, also, the borrowing unit will begin within a year to make repayments on the principal borrowed, so that by the time actual construction begins part of the project will have already been paid for and part of the interest cost will have been offset by income from the investments.

While the situation is extremely favorable to cities, counties, school districts and other units taking advantage of it, some of them, because of ignorance, are not going to reap the full benefits the bond market is prepared to offer. The larger municipalities, which sell bonds frequently, understand in the majority of cases how to "package" their securities and present

their case for the most favorable consideration from those who lend the money. Unfortunately, many smaller units, selling bonds at infrequent intervals, make costly mistakes.

Municipal bond defaults in the early 1930's, while presenting on the whole a creditable picture of municipal fiscal capacity in the overwhelming majority of United States municipalities, did nevertheless bring home to the buyers of municipal bonds the fact that obligations of some units were better investments than those of others. More important, the experience of the 1930's helped develop a greater understanding in financial circles of some of the more elemental factors of municipal finance, and led to the increasingly wide use of statistical and other tests designed to enable the buyer to buy intelligently.

The "full disclosure" rules of the S.E.C., while not legally applicable to municipal bond trading, had the inevitable effect of practically requiring that municipal securities be in their way as fully documented as securities of private corporations, while bank members of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation were informed by that agency in considerable detail of the information which they should have in hand when adding municipals to their holdings.

Further, much educational work has been done by fairly voluminous writings on problems of municipal borrowing and finance, and by the increasingly detailed scrutiny of the credit of borrowing units by financial services.

These are developments now generally well known and understood to most of the local units which borrow money with some regularity and frequency. These units understand that bidders on new municipal issues expect to have available for analysis reasonably detailed statements of debt and sinking funds, of annual revenues

and expenditures, of year-end balance sheets, of the operations of any public service enterprises owned by the city, and of much corollary information bearing on the unit's powers of taxation, method of operating, etc.

Many of the units now coming on the market, however, are in ignorance of the practical necessity of making a "full disclosure" of their finances and plans, and fail to make adequate information available, with the result that bids are few and interest rates higher than would be the case if competition were keener.

Smaller communities are the common sufferers from ignorance of current borrowing practices, since they may have to borrow only once or twice in a generation for a given improvement, and may sell a fairly sizeable issue only once in a decade. There is no good reason, however, why these infrequent borrowers should not benefit by the present favorable seller's market if they take the pains to do so, but there are at least two prerequisites:

- 1. They must take the trouble to inquire about and then offer their obligations in the "package" which will attract the most favorable bids.
- 2. They must make available to those from whom they would receive bids the information necessary to permit marketing the bonds in competition with well known bonds of equally high standing.

To meet these conditions, no hiring of "agents" or others to manage the sale is necessary; the cost to the city, in fact, normally will not extend beyond a little postage and perhaps train fare to the nearest banking center, but this nominal expense will be more than recouped by attracting more bids and getting a lower interest rate. Next month, some of the simple things local units can do to borrow money cheaper will be noted here.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

County Home Rule in New Missouri Constitution

County Consolidation or Dissolution Also Provided

THE new Missouri constitution, adopted by the voters on February 27,1 removes the shackles of rigid uniformity from all the counties of the state. Significant improvements in county government are expected to result from this new freedom. The more populous counties now are given the opportunity for the first time to solve their problems based on a home rule constitutional guarantee.

Under the new constitution the General Assembly is authorized to establish not more than four classes of counties, each fundamentally different in its organization and powers. Alternative forms of government can be provided in each class, from which the voters of the county can choose.

The only county officers specifically required in the new constitution are the three members of the elective county court (representative body) in those counties which do not choose an alternative form or which do not draft their own charter. Even in such counties the voters may choose to reduce the membership of the county court to two or one.

Counties with populations in excess of 85,000, of which there are four at present, may frame and adopt their own charters. Such charters are initiated by petitions signed by 20 per cent of the voters. The circuit and probate judges are then required to appoint a bipartisan commission of fourteen freeholders to draft the charter, which must be approved finally by the voters at a special election.

Such charter must provide for the form of county government and for the exercise of all powers and duties prescribed by the constitution and state statutes. It may provide also for functions such as public health, police and traffic, building construction, and planning and zoning outside of cities. It may provide for county performance of services, other than school, for any municipality or other political subdivision upon approval of the voters of such subdivision.

The electors of two or more counties can achieve complete consolidation of such counties by a majority favorable vote in each. By a two-thirds vote in favor of the proposition the electors can dissolve a county, whereupon all or parts of it will be annexed to adjoining counties in a manner provided by law. Provision is made also whereby from two to ten contiguous counties may unite to achieve functional consolidation of some of their services by majority vote in each county. Joint employment of specific county officers is another alternative.

The new constitution provides further solutions for the St. Louis metropolitan area. The old constitution permitted extension of the boundaries of St. Louis County to include the city, thus reestablishing the framework in existence before the city-county separation in 1876. Such proposals were rejected in 1925 and 1930. The old constitution permitted also city-county consolidation and city annexation of part of the county. The new constitution provides, in addition, for the establishment of metropolitan district agencies to render services necessary in the territory

¹See "New Constitution for Missouri," by Tess Loeb, p. 165 this issue.

included. The board of freeholders of eighteen members, equally divided between city and county, that could be appointed to adjust city-county relations is increased to nineteen, the additional member being appointed by the governor of Missouri.

The fee system of compensation in criminal matters is abolished with but few exceptions. Its retention is permitted in civil matters.

In summary, the opportunities of home rule and local government reform now rest entirely in the hands of the state legislature and with the counties themselves.

A New "Manager" Proposal for Monigomery County, Md.

A bill to create a county "supervisor" for Montgomery County, Maryland, has been introduced in the Maryland House of Delegates. The measure provides for appointment of a supervisor by the county commissioners to be removable at their pleasure. He would receive a salary to be determined by the commissioners but not to exceed \$10,000 a year, and would be a fulltime official. Qualifications for the position would include substantial education, professional and business training and experience, etc.

Acting as administrative agent for the county commissioners, the supervisor would have responsibility for daily routine administrative functions of the general executive and administrative agencies under jurisdiction of the county commissioners. The commissioners would express their advice or declare policy on routine administrative matters to the supervisor by formal resolution.

The supervisor would be empowered to appoint all employees included in the county civil service system. Under the proposed bill he would have authority to suspend or discharge such employees, but would have to file the reason for his action with the civil service commissioner. All policy-determining or public relations officials of the county, with the exception of the countsel and assistant counsel to the county commissioners, would be required to be responsible first to the county supervisor and then to the commissioners.

The proposed official also would be required to prepare an annual budget for all county departments as well as an annual statement summarizing all capital projects planned for the succeeding five years.

The bill is supported by the present county administration. It does not have the backing of the Montgomery County Charter Committee which was responsible for the proposed county manager charter submitted to the voters last November.¹

More Counties Consider Manager Plan

The county manager plan for King County, (Seattle) Washington, proposed by Commissioner Sparkman and previously discussed in this section² received a setback when on the legislature's adjournment a bill authorizing appointment of a manager by the county commissioners had failed to get out of committee. A similar fate was met by S. J. R. 6 which would have given Washington counties the right to adopt home rule charters.

County government officials of Muskegon County, Michigan, and the Junior Chamber of Commerce of Greater Muskegon are discussing the advantages which would derive from the adoption of the manager plan for their county. They recognize, however, that such a plan cannot be adopted until there is first a constitutional amend-

¹See the REVIEW, December 1944, pp. 583, 634.

^{*}See March issue, p. 149.

ment permitting the manager form of government for counties.

As a result of its study of the government of the county, the 1945 Santa Clara County, California, grand jury has come out with a strong recommendation for adoption of the county manager plan. The Citizens' Planning Council has an active committee at work formulating plans for the election of a Board of Freeholders to draft a manager charter for submission to the voters next fall.

Buffalo Mayor Urges City-County Separation

Mayor Joseph J. Kelly of Buffalo, New York, has stated that separation of the city from Erie County is the "only solution" to the city's financial problem. He said: "Buffalo has reached the limit of the amount it can raise by taxes on real estate for operation and maintenance costs. The only solution in my mind is to make the city a county by itself. Under such an arrangement the city, which now pays better than 75 per cent of the taxes raised in Eric County, would get a share of the state-controlled taxes which now go direct to the county and stay there. If Buffalo is established as a county, it would be one of the largest in the state, with a population in excess of 600,000. Erie County would not suffer since it would still have 27 towns and two cities."

Madison-Dane County Personnel Office Proposed

Since neither the city of Madison, Wisconsin, nor Dane County have sufficient personnel to justify the employment of a full-time personnel officer, the City Finance Committee has proposed that a joint personnel office be established. The proposal was suggested by county officials, but it must be submitted to the city common council.

Local Affairs Abroad

Edited by Edward W. Weidner

Housing— Worldwide Problem

Central, Local Governments Take Steps to Supply Needs

IT IS doubtful if there is any greater problem confronting local governments all over the world than that of housing, regardless of whether there has been damage by enemy action or whether countries are at war.

Certain general facts stand out. The problem seems of such magnitude that all levels of government must cooperate in its solution; the central governments in some cases are the ones principally in the housing field; in almost no country is central activity lacking.

Russia

The most dramatic housing problem in the USSR is that caused by war damage. There are also problems of war center housing, however, and housing shortages resulting from curtailed wartime construction. As an example of war damage experience in the first 40 districts liberated in the Polesye Province of the Byelorussian Republic may be cited: 209,000 houses were com-

¹Material on housing in foreign countries may be found in various issues of the Municipal Journal and Local Government Administrator (London). See especially articles by S. Henry Kahn, May 26, June 2, July 7, September 8 and 22, and November 17, 1944, issues. A summary of low-cost housing in Latin American countries can be found in Boletin (the Municipal Digest of the Americas) Havana, July 1944. See also "Local Affairs Abroad," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, November 1944 (England) and January 1945 (Australia).

pletely destroyed in addition to public and commercial buildings.

To meet the problem the Academy of Architecture, a centrally-controlled agency created over ten years ago, has drawn up plans for the reconstruction of "blitzed" and blighted areas of towns. Some of this work is already under way; for example, construction has begun in Stalingrad. In most wardamaged areas temporary housing has been erected until permanent structures can be built. The central government gives grants to the local units for wartime repairs to houses. Some of the localities instead of using the money for repairs have put the money aside for postwar use. As houses are publicly owned in the USSR, primary responsibility for their repair is on the local authority.

* * *

Spain

The housing shortage in Spain today is still largely the result of the civil war. The principal program adopted has been one which provides for eventual individual ownership. Local and central governments pay 90 per cent of the cost of a house and the tenants 10 per cent. Local governments have contributed varying amounts. In the richer provinces they have contributed a large proportion if not the whole of the public cost, while in the poorer areas they paid little.

The total cost of the program for 1944, estimated at 161,290,010 pesetas, represents an increase of 1,068 per cent over 1942 and 663 per cent over 1943. Less than 10,000 houses have been built thus far.

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Italy

There have been many press accounts of the destruction of houses and apartments in Allied-held Italy and the steps taken to relieve the shortages temporarily. Similar destruction has

occurred in northern Italy, especially in industrial cities such as Milan. It is estimated that about 60 per cent of the apartments and houses there are uninhabitable. Even in Milan, however, postwar planning is under way, according to reports reaching Switzerland. Architects, anticipating the defeat of Germany and foreseeing future economic difficulties for Italy, are planning to use marble in liberal quantities in rebuilding the city since there is an abundance of it in the country while steel probably will be scarce.

France

According to official statistics about 1,500,000 French homes have been wholly or partially destroyed because of the war. Damage was, of course, unevenly distributed. Four-fifths of Caen was destroyed. Other cities, especially those liberated by the underground, suffered little damage.

To meet the situation people have been housed in barracks, barns, house ruins or other shelters. Temporary houses have been built in many areas; within a few months after liberation 3,000 were provided for Toulon and Marseilles. Although the central government has announced that local governments must take responsibility for solving an important part of the housing problem, the former has appointed a minister of reconstruction and city planning to help. Many local governments-Paris, Lyons and Grenoble, for instance-replanned their cities before liberation. Some features of these plans are expected to be followed by the new municipal authorities.

Northern Ireland

A bill providing for state and local subsidies for housing has been introduced into the House of Commons of Northern Ireland. Contributions would be made on an annual basis and a centrally-controlled housing trust would be created to coordinate and cooperate with local authorities. The object would be to provide cheap working-class houses. The bill would establish a single housing code for all urban and rural areas.

* * *

Scotland

Over 33,000 temporary houses have been allotted to Scotland to make up for war shortages. Local authorities must acquire and prepare sites for these houses and select the tenants. The houses are centrally manufactured, prefabricated, and delivered to localities. By their use it is estimated that new housing accommodations will be double what they would be with new permanent housing only.

For permanent postwar housing local authorities have been advised to prepare sites immediately so that no delay may occur when manpower and materials become available. The Scottish Housing Advisory Committee has issued a report calling for the expansion of villages after the war, the dispersal of industry to create towns up to an "optimum" population of fifty to sixty thousand, and the building of neighborhood units of five to ten thousand persons. The Housing (Scotland) Act, 1944, has authorized the Scottish Special Housing Association, centrally controlled, to build houses for workers with state assistance. The Association is to consult with the local governments involved before it undertakes to build in any area.

England and Wales

Official figures show that up to March 31, 1944, 3,000,000 houses had been given "first aid" repair because of war damage and 102,700 badly-damaged houses had been restored to use. In some cities nearly every house has been damaged. Dover reports 10,000 houses damaged.

aged out of a total of 11,400 including nearly 1,000 totally demolished. The Ministry of Works and the local authorities, cooperating, do most of the repair work. More manpower is now being assigned to building and repair work.

Ninety thousand temporary prefabricated houses have been allocated to England and Wales as part of the same program that exists in Scotland.

For the postwar era the Minister of Health has estimated that five hundred to six hundred thousand permanent houses can be built in the first two years after the end of the German war. Much of the land for these houses has already been acquired by local governments; by October 1944, 48,605 acres of land—enough for about 486,000 houses—either was held by local authorities or was included in programs submitted to the Minister of Health. At present about 10 per cent of the houses in England are owned by local authorities.

Chile and Panama

Chile has recently established a central fund under control of the Department of Labor from which loans are to be made for housing. Loans may be made to municipalities for the building of houses for their employees and laborers.

The Panamanian Republic is considing deconcentrating its capital city of Panama because of overcrowded conditions. Twenty per cent of the country's population lives there.

New Zealand

Although not directly damaged by enemy action, New Zealand is experiencing a housing shortage. The central government is undertaking some housing projects directly while local governments are also active. The latter have used abandoned army and navy

facilities such as hospitals and rest camps for temporary relief of Housing shortages.

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South Africa

The National Housing Commission has established a new ratio of national to local contributions to make up the difference between rentals and cost of low-cost public housing. The ratio is two to one, five to two, or three to one depending upon whether rent collections are over 6 per cent, between 5 and 6 per cent or less than 5 per cent of capital cost.

Local Reorganization in Canada

A committee has been appointed in the province of Saskatchewan to study the desirability of larger rural municipal units and larger school districts. As a first step the chairman of the committee visited Alberta and studied the reorganization of rural local government in that province during the last four years.

During the last four years Alberta has reorganized its school, hospital and municipal district boundaries to create larger rural units. One hundred and forty of the previous municipal districts, each comprising approximately nine townships, were consolidated into forty enlarged units varying from eight to sixty-three townships. Most of the new districts range from thirty-six to forty-five townships. Only twenty districts remain unchanged.

The chairman of the committee reported: "The public generally approves of the large municipal units and government and municipal officials visited were unanimous in declaring that the larger units are definitely a success. Road planning and construction has

improved. General administration is very good and is improving as better organization is developed."

Little evidence of reduced costs or tax rates was found. "Administration costs have not been reduced to any pronounced degree so far. This is due to the expense of installing new tax rolls and equipment and the extra work involved in consolidating tax and other records. There will, however, be a substantial saving following complete office reorganization; in fact, this is already evident in the units which have been in operation for three years or more."

What Government Is Doing in Australia

Regionalism

In an article entitled "Regionalism Linked with Greater Local Government" Guy Kable puts forward the idea that a healthy regionalism will result in strengthening local government in Australia. The author cites the Tennessee Valley Authority as an example of what can be done regionally, but states that a beginning should be made by "the formation of regional committees consisting solely of representatives of local government authorities, with the object of securing continuous cooperation in dealing with all matters and problems of a regional nature" rather than by adopting the TVA principle of a centrally-appointed administrative agency.

By means of a questionnaire circulated in January 1943 it has been disclosed that between 40 and 80 per cent of the local government councils in the various counties of New South Wales have asked their member of the state parliament to support early legislation for increased powers of local government.

¹Western Municipal News, August, September, October and November, 1944, pp. 181, 226, 245-6 and 284-5.

¹Public Administration (London).

Housing

In Victoria local governments have experienced considerable difficulty in trying to get the state government to respect local housing regulations for houses built by the state. An unsuccessful effort was recently made in the state parliament to make it compulsory that such local regulations be observed.

Compulsory Voting

In New South Wales a bill to provide for compulsory voting in municipal and shire elections was defeated by the upper house after being passed by the assembly. In Tasmania the House of Assembly has likewise passed a bill making voting compulsory.

Roads

A uniform code of traffic regulation for the rural parts of Victoria has been adopted by the state, after consultation with the local governments involved. This supplements the code which has been in force since 1936 for municipalities. In Tasmania the state government has taken over maintenance of many of the roads formerly controlled by local governments.

Voting

In Tasmania the day for local elections has been changed from Thursday to Saturday. Also, a law has been passed providing that the ordinary means of absentee voting shall apply to municipal elections.

Planning

New South Wales recently established regional planning committees. The premier has announced that half the six members of each committee will be nominated by the shires and municipalities in each region.

CITIZEN EDUCATION IN BRITAIN

(Continued from page 175) racies and other works; the Honorary Secretary, Mrs. Eva M. Hubback, M.A., Principal of Morley College for Working Men and Women, to whose imagination and untiring energy the Association chiefly owes its inception and continuance. Sir Ernest Simon and Mrs. Hubback are joint authors of the basic book of the Association—Training for Citizenship.³

The Council of the Association consists of affiliated organizations, all of which are bodies with an educational concern, and of distinguished individuals, scholars, teachers, social workers, politicians and others who support the aims of the Association.

In all its plans the Association looks further than the immediate future—proposals for the raising of the school-leaving age, the establishment of Young People's Colleges and the extension of the Service of Youth call for reconsideration of curriculum and organization and for new ideas in the training of teachers and youth leaders.

Demobilization will release great numbers of men and women who have formed a habit of discussion and of acquiring information. The market for education is extending and must be served. It is the chief concern of the Association to develop contacts wherever possible among all kinds of people and to experiment in education in all kinds of circumstances, in the hope that it will be able to make a positive contribution of some value to postwar society.

³Oxford University Press.

Proportional Representation Edited by George H. Hallett. In

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. (This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Yonkers Progresses with P.R.-Manager Plan

An Appraisal by City's Good Government Mayor

YONKERS, a city of 142,000 population, faced in rather intense measure the problems confronting other large cities in the depression years. With its large working population, its concentration of employment in a few large industries, its combination of industrial and suburban-residential community centers, it experienced an exceptionally heavy relief load and a correspondingly heavy tax burden on real estate. Its large area and diversity of population made a cohesive attack upon the problems of government difficult.

In 1938, because of increasing dissatisfaction with governmental and fiscal conditions, a city manager-proportional representation charter was adopted to become effective January 1, 1940, by popular referendum. It replaced the mayor-council government which had existed for many years. Under the new charter the mayor was chosen by the councilmen from among their number, which number varies in accordance with the popular vote cast. Under existing population conditions the number would ordinarily be five.

There have now been three elections by proportional representation—November 1939, 1941 and 1943. At the first election two organization Democrats, one organization Republican and two candidates endorsed by the City Manager League—which had been active in promoting the city manager form of government in Yonkers—were elected.

The two organization Democrats combined with the organization Republican to elect the latter as mayor and thereafter formed a working majority which controlled the appointment of the city manager and major municipal policies. The manager selected was a man of some experience in city manager work.

In 1941 two organization Democrats were elected to the Council; the other three chosen were a Democrat who had renounced the organization and had been thereafter endorsed by the City Manager League, a candidate endorsed solely by the City Manager League and another endorsed by both the Republican organization and the City Manager League. Shortly after the election the Democrat who had bolted the organization and had been endorsed by the City Manager League demanded of his City Manager League colleagues, as a price of his continued cooperation, that he be chosen mayor. When that was refused him he formed a coalition with the two Democratic organization-supported councilmen, was elected mayor and with his Democratic colleagues formed a working majority. That majority retained in office the city manager who had been appointed by the previous Council.

In the summer of 1942 one of the Democratic majority entered the armed forces and a special recount of the ballots cast at the 1941 election resulted in the election of a Democrat who had been endorsed by the organization. The new councilman immediately announced his independence of the Democratic organization, however, and formed a coalition with the two City Manager League councilmen to replace the then city manager. The newly selected manager was an elderly attorney reputed to have been one of

Author of this article.—Editor.

the best mayors Yonkers had ever had and an expert in municipal law. It was distinctly understood that his appointment should be for a limited period.

The new manager appointed some excellently qualified persons to certain key administrative positions, the new comptroller being a financial executive of outstanding qualifications.

In the fall of 1942 two propositions seeking to abolish P. R.—one offered by the Republicans, the other by the Democrats—were defeated by the voters by a two-to-one vote.

In the fall of 1943 a proposal to amend the charter by making the councilman with the highest number of votes in a majority preferential recount of the P. R. ballots automatically the mayor was overwhelmingly adopted at the polls. At the same election the council majority was reelected, along with two organization Democrats.

In the fall of 1944 two of the Council majority decided that further and more rapid progress was necessary in improving the city's condition and accordingly, necessarily in this instance with the support of a Democratic member of the Council, elevated the comptroller to the position of city manager.

Financial Improvement

The progress made since the inception of city manager government has been substantial, as reflected in these statistics:

Total debt of city reached all-time high of \$38,232,986 on December 31, 1940. On March 15, 1945, total debt was \$25,897,200, a reduction of \$12,335 786.

Assessed valuations on December 31, 1939, were \$302,412,477. Assessed valuations on December 31, 1944, for year 1945, were \$284,168,367, a reduction of \$18,244,110.

Deficit on December 31, 1939, was \$4,008,000. Deficit on December 31, 1943, was \$904,621. (It is believed that

there has been a further reduction in 1944, but the amount is not yet known.) Number of employees on payroll on

December 31, 1939, was 3,619; Number on December 31, 1944, 2,539.

Operating expenses per budget were \$9,817,740 in 1939. In the 1945 budget they are \$8,315,870.

Purchases for 1939 totaled \$1,519,939 including welfare and WPA. In 1943 they were \$268,279. In 1944 they were \$255,260 plus \$134,524 which included six new trucks and paving of streets.

Tax rate has been gradually declin-

ing:-

1940 39.77 per \$1000 of valuation 1941 39.70

1942 39.40 1943 39.16 1944 39.06

38.07

1945

There can be no doubt that city manager government has been more efficient and effective than was the earlier form of government. This has been due in large measure to the efforts and qualifications of the city managers who have served the city. Even greater progress could have been made and will be made, in the writer's opinion, if a solid majority of councilmen are elected who are entirely disinterested, who will give full freedom of action and authority to the city manager, and who will work in complete harmony and unison for the sole objective of improving the city.

As already shown, in the three elections thus far held the Council majority has always consisted of a coalition. Such coalition government is too unstable to permit sound and permanent planning and improvement. The difficulty has been that there have been three "parties"—Republicans, City Managerites and Democrats.

P. R. requires a great deal of a candidate. He must be elected from the city at large, must be well and favorably known and must appeal to a large group of voters. It is difficult to

(Continued on Page 208)

Books in Review

Tomorrow's Business. By Beardsley Ruml. New York City, Farrar & Rinehart, 1945, 238 pp. \$2.50.

Beardsley Ruml has been an important man for some years. In this little volume he takes on the stature of greatness. It is no mean feat to provide a diagnosis and prescription for our major economic and governmental ills. To do so with clarity, courage and common sense is a substantial and praise-deserving achievement.

Dr. Ruml's logic burns through the surrounding fog on many current issues. With rare courage he points out evils and virtues in both business and unionism and foresees some happy future when each, having been properly purified, will find its place in an orderly world of freedom.

The philosophy in this volume is needed even more than the program, important and challenging as that is. A new, and more inclusive, goal of freedom than that to which we have been accustomed is set up. His concept of public and private government (with the family, church, business and unions as the chief examples of the latter) is a helpful contribution to our thinking. Rule-makers there are and rule-makers there must be; and in an orderly society each will operate in its appropriate sphere. There is no anarchy in Dr. Ruml's Utopia. Neither is there dictatorship. Not freedom for business but business for freedom, he declares. The same formula is implied for unionism.

We shall be hearing a great deal about the Ruml fiscal program during the next year or two. It merits careful study, but covers too much ground to be summarized here.

Dr. Ruml's suggestions concerning public works also merit close attention. He is not the first person to point out the crying need of rationalization in the construction industry. Anyone who has had any contact, first- or secondhand, with -the building industry is likely to have his own little collection of tall tales. When construction affects so vitally the well-being of all of us, why do we tolerate the present chaos? Dr. Ruml is not of the company of idle viewers-with-alarm. He wishes to do something about it, and the first thing on his program is a "congressional investigation of the industry with recommendations that would result in its reorganization. Such an investigation should be of the same dignity and competence as that of the National Monetary Commission following which the Federal Reserve System was established."

Tomorrow's Business is noteworthy in many respects not the least of which is the tremendous scope and outstanding clarity of the volume contrasted with the limited number of pages. The Ruml style of writing is wonderful for wartime conservation of paper but it would put a lot of journalists on the breadline. He has the rare gift of saying a great deal in a few words and saying it clearly and effectively. Perhaps English, as well as government and economic teachers, will be making Tomorrow's Business required reading.

MABEL L. WALKER

Tax Institute

River Resources—Use and Control. Chicago, Council of State Governments, State Government, February 1945. 20 pp. 35 cents.

"In the midst of America's greatest war, the consequences of a century of mismanaged resources are leading to a crisis in the nation's water supply," states the introduction to the February issue of State Government, devoted entirely to this subject. Articles are

contributed by Ellwood J. Turner, who writes on the place of the state in watershed development; David E. Lilienthal, on the TVA; C. Herman Pritchett, on control of water resources; Kenneth A. Reid, on pollution control; and George F. Yantis, on the Columbia River Basin. A bibliography on the control of water resources is also published.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Accounting

Governmental Accounting Bibliography. 1945 Supplement. Chicago, National Committee on Municipal Accounting, 1945. 13 pp. 25 cents.

Budgets

State Budgets for 1946 and 1947. Biennial and Annual Budgets Presented to 1945 Legislatures. By N. B. Gerry and Howard S. Ryan. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1945. 10 pp.

Federal Government

American Handbook. Prepared by the Office of War Information. Washington, D. C., Public Affairs Press, 1945. iv, 508 pp. \$3.75.

Personnel

Counseling in Personnel Work 1940-1944. A Bibliography. By Paul S. Burnham. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1944. 38 pp. \$1.

Planning

Planning for Los Angeles. Recent Plans and Background Materials Relating to the Los Angeles Metropolitan Area (A Bibliography). Los Angeles, Municipal Reference Library, 1945. 11 pp. 10 cents.

Planning for Schenectady. Progress Report of the Interdepartment Postwar Planning Committee. Schenectady, N. Y., 1945. 24 pp.

Racial Relations

The Prevention and Control of Race Riots. A Bibliography for Police Officers. Los Angeles, Municipal Reference Library, 1944. 12 pp. 10 cents.

Taxation and Finance

Balances in State General, Highway, and Postwar-Reserve Funds in 1944. By N. B. Gerry. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1945. 7 pp.

Distribution of Motor Fuel Taxes Among Counties in Washington. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1944. xx. 336 pp.

Should There Be a Constitutional Amendment Limiting Federal Income, Estate, and Gift Taxes? (Forum Pamphlet Three). By D. E. Casey, Robert B. Dresser, Harold M. Groves and William Anderson. New York, Tax Institute, 1944. 26 pp. 50 cents.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from Page 206)

obtain candidates of the calibre required, to make the personal and financial sacrifices which are necessary, as long as there is this three-party system and resultant coalition government. The Democratic organization is fairly solid and unified. Unless there is a joinder by the Republican party and City Manager League in the support of at least three candidates of merit, the progress which should be made cannot be expected.² If such joint support is forthcoming the opportunity for progress and improvement in Yonkers is almost boundless.

CURTISS E. FRANK

Mayor of Yonkers

²As this article goes to press we are informed that a resolution has been filed with the City Clerk, sponsored by the three Democratic members of the Council, to oust the City Manager.—EDITOR.